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A REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF SOME DEVELOPMENTS IN COMMUNITY
EDUCATION IN 'DEVELOPED' AND 'DEVELOPING' COUNTRIES

by



AISHA BIBI ALLADIN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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I would like to
dedicate
this thesis
to my loving and caring
parents

Mr. and Mrs. Osman Jeewa
including
my two brothers
Aslam and Anwar

ABSTRACT

The concept of "community education" is multi-faceted and tends to vary in different socio-political contexts. The purpose of this study is to analyse the different conceptions and interpretations of "community education" in the educational policies of both "developed" and "developing" countries. Community education will be alluded through the examples of the Black "Industrial Education Movement" initiated at Hampton and Tuskegee in the Southern States of the U.S.A., the "Community-Oriented" education in British Colonial Africa, Gandhi's "Basic Education Movement", the "Community School/Education Movement" in the U.S.A., the "Nonformal Education Movement" in post-colonial Africa and India as well as the socialist community education version of China and Tanzania.

The study indicated that community education was prescribed for the Black Southerners shortly after the abolition of slavery in the U.S.A. as well as the Black African mass in British Colonial Africa in order to teach them proper hygiene, sanitation and health practices, diversified agricultural and farming techniques and some degree of home economics so that they could improve community standards of living. Attempts were also made to link education with the occupational needs of the community so that the Blacks could develop skills in farming, agriculture, small trade occupations and handicrafts.

A similar attempt at community education was made in the 1970s in the post-colonial context of Africa and India. Nonformal education programmes were developed with the aim to "educate" rural communities to improve standards of living and attain a sense of economic self-sufficiency through the principles of community self-help. Gandhi's "Basic Education Movement" initiated during the British colonial regime in India was geared to teach

rural communities the principles of community self-reliance through the teachings of basic crafts, agriculture, etc. in order to make the Indians become economically and socially less dependent on the British.

The North American "Community Education Movement" was an attempt to bring closer school/community interaction and recreate a "missing sense of community" resulting from industrialisation and urbanisation. Public schools converted into "community schools" extended their school activities to accommodate the community's perceived needs.

Community education showed limited benefits in these contexts because it was implemented as a "second-rate" education to a marginal group of people with the hope that it would solve deep-rooted social problems. Community education was more geared to change peoples' attitudes, skills and intellectual traits than to raise their consciousness to challenge existing social structures which are mainly responsible for the perpetuation of social inequalities, maldistribution of wealth, power, etc. Community education operated within a dual system of education whereby an "academic" oriented education was the only avenue to better job opportunities, better economic rewards and better chances to upward social mobility. Henceforth, it can be argued that community education served as an instrument for social control.

The study also indicated that China and Tanzania had a relatively good degree of success in their approach to community education because of their attempts at overall structural changes on a socialist path of development. In these countries, community education was integrated within the mainstream education system and attempts were made to narrow the gap between "academic" and "community" oriented education as well as the economic rewards and opportunities structure accruing from those two systems of education.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the late 1960s, the term or concept "community education" has come into the limelight on the education scene and has been included in the development of educational policies in both developed and developing countries. There is the misconception that community education is a new phenomenon owing to the fact that the concept has been given considerable attention both in theory and in practice in the past two decades in the developed countries such as the United States, as well as in the recent educational policies of some developing countries. However, Olsen (1978) reminds us that the concept of "community education" is not new and has been expounded by educational thinkers throughout the centuries.

In the Fifty-Second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, The Community School Part 11 (1953), James Dickinson makes the point that the "community education" idea can be traced to ancient Greek philosophers. According to his interpretation of Plato's work, The Republic, which was written in the fourth century B.C., Dickinson argues that Plato expressed great concern about the importance of community in the social life of man. He remarks that Plato's Republic (idealised form of society), education was seen as a cultural force for improving existing conditions and maintaining good life in the community. Dickinson (1953) also cites the work Utopia written by Sir Thomas Moore in the sixteenth century in which the conception of "community education" was mentioned. According to Dickinson's interpretation, the citizens of Moore's Utopia were expected to work, learn and live together with the dual object of

of self-improvement and civic advancement. The community was seen to be responsible for promoting the full development of the individual, civic-mindedness and social responsibility which involved full participation in economic, social, intellectual and military affairs.

However, from the two examples cited above, one can argue that although the idea of "community education" was present in the thoughts of Plato and Sir Thomas Moore, these thinkers were referring to community education in an idealistic kind of situation - a kind of utopia where the notion of "ideal" life was epitomised.

Since then, the concept of "community education" has been developed over the years by different philosophers such as Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Parker, Spencer, Dewey¹ and Gandhi. They all have expressed their ideas as to how the school can fulfill its social responsibilities towards the community it is supposed to serve and vice-versa.

DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION

SCHOOL AS A MICROCOSM OF COMMUNITY

Dewey (1897) saw the school as a replica of the community and he envisaged the role of the school as a socialising agent--socialising students into real life situations as they were experienced in the community. Dewey first formulated his idea of education and its relationship to the community in "My Pedagogic Creed":-

"I believe that the school is primarily a social institution. Education being a social process, the school is simply that form of community life in which all those agencies are concentrated that will be most effective in bringing the child to share in the inherited resources of the race, and to use his own powers for social ends.

I believe that education, therefore is a process of living and not a preparation of future living.

I believe that school must represent present life - life as real and vital to the child as that which he carries on in the home, in the neighbourhood or on the playground".²

Dewey (1899) stressed the social responsibility of the school to educate the child to become an integrated member of his community. He suggested that the school curriculum should have the function of relating what went on in the home and community in terms of work and real life experiences. Dewey believed that the school should affiliate itself with life and the activities of the community, to become the child's habitat where he learnt through directed living, instead of being an only place to learn lessons. He envisaged the school to be "a miniature community", an "embryonic society" where real life experiences could be reconstructed. The schools conceived as an "embryonic community life" would be able to reflect the life of the larger community and hence be able to train and socialise the younger members of the community.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY INTERACTION

Community education is often interpreted as the process aimed at revitalising school-community relationships by linking school, home and community. The school makes use of community resources and facilities and the community becomes a 'learning laboratory'. Students go outside the confines of the four walls of the school plant into the community to learn and acquire first hand experiences through field trips, community projects, excursions, etc. On the other hand, resources and elements from the community are brought into the schools. For example, social workers, police officers, community nurses are invited into the schools to discuss community issues ranging from health hazards, road safety, drug abuse to sex education. School-community interaction is also maintained through parent-teacher's association, community advisory councils and any other organisations involving school staff, students and community representatives.

LOCAL CONTROL, COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING PROCESS OF THE SCHOOL.

Local control of education is often seen as an important element in community education especially in a democratic context. The school is regarded as an integral part in the life of the community and therefore the community has a democratic right to play a part in the decision-making process of the school.. Therefore, community education is often interpreted in the light of the community participation in the decision-making process at the local level in policy matters, standards of education in the school, nature of curriculum, school-community related problems, etc. The notion of participation is central to most school-community interaction: Schools and school personnel are urged to participate more actively in the community; members of the community are encouraged (but not always by school personnel) to participate in school affairs; and joint action, it is hoped, is to come from the "grass roots" level with members of both schools and communities participating in the decisions and actions affecting their lives³.

COMMUNITY USE OF SCHOOLS

Public schools are sometimes considered far too expensive to build and maintain to be sitting idle after normal school hours. Therefore, they can be converted into "community schools" and extend their activities for community purposes. For example, the community can use the school recreational facilities such as gymnasium, swimming pool, playgrounds after school hours or on week-ends. Various cultural activities can be planned and carried out in the school plant. Shared buildings and facilities represent school-community interaction in its most tangible form. The sharing of facilities has at root an economic as well as a social rationale: it is a means of saving costs and of utilising to the

to the full, capital (and human) resources⁴.

ADULT EDUCATION

Community education is often equated with adult education. Adult education takes into account the learning needs of the members of the community who have passed the compulsory school age. Adult education makes education a "life-long" process and provides a "second chance" for those who have been unable to acquire an education. Adult community education programmes range from adult literacy programmes, avocational and vocational training, to high school completion courses and job upgrading skills.

LINKING EDUCATION WITH OCCUPATIONAL NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY

Schools have often been criticised for dwelling too much on book-centered knowledge, cognitive skills, passive learning and fragmented subject teaching without any relevance to the life and the world of work as it is experienced in the community. Community education strives to make education 'relevant' to the needs of the community (i.e. prepare people for life and work in the community) and link education with the occupational needs of the community. This is often achieved through curricula changes. Work-study programmes, sandwich courses, vocational, agricultural and industrial courses are implemented in the schools in order to provide an education 'relevant' to the needs of the community.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION FOR COMMUNITY PROBLEM-SOLVING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

One important aim of community education is to serve community development. Biddle and Biddle (1965) have argued that community development is educational in the sense that it is a process which allows a community to look systematically at local community problem-solving. In the light of this, community education develops the community's potential for group action, local initiative, cooperativeness, self-help skills

for community improvement and change. It also provides skills and knowledge to deal with community problems and these vary from improving hygiene and sanitation in the community, learning new agricultural techniques and family planning to the encouragement and motivation of members of the community's standards of living and the creation of changed attitudes.

The role of the school in community development applies in both rural and urban context. Community development reflects the perceived need to promote community identity and cohesiveness in order to overcome the problems of anomie and alienation resulting from industrialisation and urbanisation where there is a "missing sense" of community. The school is used as an important resource to help regenerate a sense of community especially in an urban socially depressed areas where there are problems of unemployment, crime, racism, poverty, etc.

THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION

An examination of the literature reveals that there is no single definition of community education. Community education means different things to different people in various socio-political contexts. Decker (1972) remarked that community education is an eclectic philosophy which gets adapted and implemented to the social, historical and economic phase of a country. He argued that the conception of community education underwent changes and modifications according to time and circumstances. As Batten (1980) points out, in conception and practice, there is no single community education phenomenon and developments in community education were to be found in countries representing the whole spectrum of political and economic organisation. Besides this, he remarked that there was no general organising theory of community education between countries and often within countries⁵.

It should be noted that the main difficulty to conceptualise "community education" derives from the fact of the multi-usage of the terms "community" and "education". Poplin (1979) makes the point that the term "community" has been used in so many ways that it has become an omnibus word. Any social group can be seen as a community when certain kinds of relationship exist among its members. The meaning of "community" has now become totally fluid in an industrialised society characterised by a high degree of geographical mobility and cultural pluralism.

Originally the term "community" has been used to refer a condition in which human beings find themselves enmeshed in a tight-knit web of meaningful relationships with their fellow human beings. This definition still applies to a rural community whereby people in a village live and work in close proximity and are bound together by a common history and shared value systems, norms, customs and beliefs. A sense of "community" also exists among nomadic groups although they do not live in a single location or in any kind of permanent settlement. Similarly given the heterogeneity and complexity of most twentieth century communities, particularly urban communities, members of the community share certain commonalities based on neighbourhood, ethnicity, religion, social class, etc. at the local level.

Although there is some disagreement concerning the best way to define or describe a community, sociologists tend to agree on the major variables that they use in their definitions and these include a sense of territorial unit or geographical areas, a network of social interaction and common ties based on shared values, norms and goals. To simplify the issue, the common usage of the term "community" often means a wide grouping of people located within a fairly recognisable boundaries and related to each other by social, economic and civic activities which

which produce a cohesiveness sufficient to develop a history and recognisable identity⁶.

On the other hand, the term "education" is often associated with schooling. However, education can be interpreted as the learning process in formal, informal and nonformal settings dealing with different aspects of life.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the different conceptions and interpretations of community education in educational policies in both developed and developing countries. From an examination of the literature on education in the developing countries, we find that although the term "community education" is very rarely mentioned (except perhaps in some recent publications), the practice of community-oriented education (i.e. making education relevant to local needs, life and work in the community), basic education (the learning of basic skills in terms of practical work that would help towards making a living and economic contribution towards the local community) as well as nonformal education (education outside the formal system of education that caters for the learning needs of the members of the community in rural community development) have been implemented.

The study will focus on both the manifest and latent functions of community education in different socio-political contexts. The study seeks to analyse the historical roots, ideological assumptions and educational objectives of how "community education" developed and got implemented in different contexts. The thesis will focus primarily on the relationship between school and community and the role that schools serve in the area of community development. A critical analysis will also be provided

on the rationale of "community education" in different socio-political contexts. Parallels, differences and contradictions will be pointed out from the scope community approach to education took in developed and developing countries.

As far as "community education" in the West is concerned, the thesis will focus on the North American context, particularly the United States where this philosophy has generated a great deal of interest and enthusiasm among educators, politicians and policy-makers over a number of years. A historical development of the U.S. version of "community education" will be provided in order to show how in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the idea of community education (i.e. combining schooling with the world of work through a relevant curriculum) was institutionalised at Hampton and Tuskegee institutes and implemented in the Southern States among the negro community. The role of the Jeanes teachers (graduates from Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes) will be discussed in the attempt to develop community education in the direction of community development among the black community. The thesis will also include the "Community School/Education Movement" which started in the 1930s when schools were seen as an integral part of community life. During the 1940s and 1950s, community schools expanded in the U.S.A. in order to make schools more responsive to community needs and problems associated with urban living and industrialisation. In the late 1960s and 1970s, the reemergence of "community education" will be discussed in the light of reactions to the "sense of crisis" in the public school system and a growing disenchantment of a highly industrialised society where there is a "missing sense of community".

With the example of British Colonial Africa, the report of the Phelps-Stoke Commissions of the 1920s headed by American "experts" will

will be examined in their recommendations for a "community-oriented" type of education based on the Hampton-Tuskegee model of "Industrial Education" in West, East and Central Africa among black Africans. A discussion will be provided as to how the Phelps-Stokes Commissions' recommendations influenced subsequent British educational policies in Colonial Africa in the direction of community education right up to the 1950s. In order to provide a contrast with British Colonial Africa where community approach to education was superimposed by the colonial power for ideological reasons, Gandhi's philosophy of "Basic Education" which was popularised in the 1930s in India will be analysed in the light of its contribution to rural community development.

Community education will also be examined in the post-colonial context of developing countries especially in the emergence of nonformal education in the 1970s which constituted a reaction against the failures of the public educational system. Examples will be drawn from Africa and India in order to illustrate how the programmes of nonformal education were geared towards rural community development in the traditional sector of the economy. With regards to a different approach to community education in developing countries, the experiences of China and Tanzania will be included in order to show how these countries with accompanying structural changes have been able to implement their own versions of community-oriented education.

Some of the issues to be discussed which relate to the main theme of the thesis are: Is community education a viable expedient for solving community problems in the context of developed and developing countries? To what extent does community approach to education engender equal educational opportunity and a sense of meritocracy? Is community education a remedy for social ills such as poverty, unemployment, delinquency,

crime, etc.? Can community schools through community-oriented programmes foster a "sense of community" in an urban context? How can community education build a new social order?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As mentioned earlier, there is no general coherent theory of "community education" owing to the fact that the concept of community education is confusing and its meaning varies with individual situations. In the context of the United States where the concept of community education has received great interest among educators, Maurice Seay and Associates in their book Community Education: A Developing Concept (1974) note the lack of research and the absence of theory development in the field of community education.

For the purpose of this thesis, the theoretical orientation that will be developed will draw from the discipline of Sociology mainly in the area of sociology of education. The role and purposes of "community education" will be explained from a functionalist point of view which interprets education as a functional adaptation to the needs of social order. The major function of education within this paradigm is explained in terms of the transmission of society's norms and values as well as the maintenance of value consensus in society. As the thesis progresses, a critique of the application of "community education" in different socio-political contexts will be developed. For the purpose of this critique, the radical paradigm view of education (which interprets schools as an instrument of elite domination for the sake of social control as well as the perpetuation of class inequality in society) will be adopted.

METHODOLOGY

The method employed in this study will be both explanatory and

analytical. It will attempt to explain and analyse the historical implementation of community education (i.e. the relationship between community and school) in different contexts.

The methodology used for this study comprises of an examination of written materials related to community approach to education in the context of developed and developing countries. An extensive library search was undertaken in order to locate books, journals, government reports, documents, published and unpublished articles and theses related to the study. One of the main difficulties with library-based research is the unavailability of documents and written materials especially in the area of education in the developing countries. Even with the inter-library loan system across Canada, it was difficult and very often a time-consuming venture to procure written materials in the area of developing countries. As a result of this kind of problem, the thesis had to limit itself to whatever resources were made available and subsequently relied on secondary sources of data.

DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The limitations of the study derive primarily from the fact that it examines "communnity education" specifically from the angle of the relationship between community and school and the rationale for making education (meaning schooling) relevant to the needs of the community. The thesis does not focus on the informal means of education. This is a lifelong process and includes incidental learning from kinsfolk, elderly members of the family or clan, the church, play, work and the mass media.

The study is limited in scope because it only examines community education in the present century, using specific examples from a few countries where sources fo information could be obtained. In addition to

this, owing to the unavailability of primary sources of data, the study relies on secondary sources of data. The problem of secondary data sources, according to Forcese and Richer (1973) raise the question of reliability. Since they are written from the writer's own perception and interpretation of events, they tend to include elements of bias and lack objectivity.

ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis is organised into seven chapters. The introductory chapter is followed by Chapter 2 which deals with how and for what purposes community education was put into practice at the turn of this century in the Southern States of the U.S.A., especially among the black community. The Hampton-Tuskegee model of "Industrial Education" will be discussed as well as the role of the Jeanes teachers in helping to make education relevant to the needs of the negro population who have just been freed from slavery following the Civil War.

Chapter 3 follows the same trend of community approach to education in the context of British Colonial Africa. The reports of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions of the 1920s will be analysed in their recommendations for a community-oriented type of education based on the Hampton-Tuskegee mode as well as the visits of the Jeanes teachers to relate village schooling more closely to local needs and activities. The subsequent British Colonial policies (influenced by the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions) will be discussed in their recommendations for a community approach to education in the traditional sector. A brief discussion of Gandhi's principles of "Basic Education" will be included in this chapter in order to give a different flair of community approach to education around the same historical period.

Chapter 4 focusses on the rationale for the North American "Community Education Movement". It will begin by analysing the historical roots of the movement in the "Community School Movement" in the 1930s following the period of the depression right up to the early 1960s. It will be argued that the "Community Education Movement" arose from the problems of urban living and industrialisation where there is a "missing sense of community". The re-emergence of the concept of "community education" on the educational scene in the 1970s will be examined in the light of what critics call a "sense of crisis" in the public education system.

Chapter 5 addresses the emergence of nonformal education with its particular emphasis on community approach to education in the developing countries in the 1970s. The emergence of nonformal education in the developing countries constituted a similar reaction to the "sense of crisis" in the public education system. It will be argued that nonformal education is a concept transplanted from the West to the LDCs especially with its emphasis on "lifelong learning" and making education relevant to the needs of rural communities. The topic will be analysed by using the examples of programmes developed in India and Africa.

Chapter 6 deals with community education in a different socio-political structure (socialist system). The experiences of China and Tanzania will be discussed in order to show how these countries have attempted to implement their own system of community approach to education with the accompanying structural transformation.

Chapter 7 is a concluding chapter. It will synthesise all the issues that were raised throughout the thesis and discuss the limits and possibilities of community education.

FOOTNOTES

1. For more details, see Olsen Edward G. "Standing On The Shoulders of Pioneers". In Community Education Perspective. Edited by Kaplan, M.H. and Warden, J.H. Michigan: Pendell Publishing Company, 1978, pp.18-23.
2. DEWEY, J. Quoted in Dworkin, M.S. Dewey On Education. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1967, p.22.
3. OECD report. School And Community--The Consequences of Some Policy Choices. Vol.11, Paris: Centre For Educational Research and Innovation, 1980, p.50.
4. OECD report (1980). Ibid., p.50.
5. BATTEN, E. "Community Education and Ideology: A Case for Radicalism". In Issues In Community Education. Edited and introduced by Fletcher, C. and Thompson, N. Hong Kong: The Falmer Press, 1980, p.27.
6. OECD report (1980). Op. cit. p.12.

CHAPTER TWO

COMMUNITY EDUCATION - THE BEGINNING OF NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to trace some of the major attempts at developing "community education" in the United States in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. It highlights the situation which emerged in the Southern States following the emancipation of slavery after the Civil War (1861-65) and tries to indicate why a "community-oriented" education philosophy developed in response to the problems which the South were facing at that time.

The focus of this chapter is to provide:-

- a) an examination of the "community education" components in the Black "Industrial Education Movement" initiated at Hampton and Tuskegee.
- b) a discussion on the aims, purposes and educational objectives of the Hampton-Tuskegee community approach to education and the impact that this approach had on Black education in general.
- c) an analysis of the ideological assumptions that the Hampton-Tuskegee model of "Industrial Education" served in the socio-political context of the South.

PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO SITUATION FOLLOWING THE CIVIL WAR

1. POVERTY AMONG THE BLACK EMANCIPATED SLAVES.

Following the Civil War, the Southern States of the United States were economically and socially devastated. The South had degenerated in a state of poverty and depression. Former slave masters lost their major assets because slavery was legally abolished. Williams et al. (1979) pointed out that the Negroes emancipated from chattel slavery were left without capital, management skills and experience. Because they were no longer of any value to their former masters, they were thrown upon their own resources to fend for themselves. Furthermore, they were

increasingly barred from practising crafts and trades which they had learnt as slaves.

Booker T. Washington (a Black spokesman on the Negro cause in the South) remarked that the newly freed slaves who lived predominantly in rural communities were faced with a situation in which their conditions of living and way of life remained static and poor at the end of the war. During his public relations work in Alabama, Washington observed that the old slave habits persisted in most communities that he visited. The dwellings in which Negroes resided after the days of slavery were primarily the old dilapidated slave cabins with scanty furniture. The family life revolved around one-room living. In his autobiography, Up From Slavery (1901), Washington remarked that Blacks relied heavily on the common slave diet of fat pork, corn bread and black-eyed peas and occasional ration of molasses. He also pointed out that these people seemed to have no other idea than to live on the fat meat and corn bread which they bought at a high price, notwithstanding the fact that the land all about their cabin homes could easily have been made to produce nearly every kind of garden vegetables. Besides improper nutrition, family sanitation was poor. Most of the houses that he visited did not have bath facilities.

Washington (1904) remarked that most of the Black farmers in the Gulf States relied on one crop plantation (i.e. cotton) and were constantly in debt. Little or nothing in the form of stock or fowls, fruits, vegetables or grains were raised for food. In order to get the food on which men and livestock were to live while the cotton crop was being grown, a mortgage or lien had to be given upon the crop. Cotton was the only product in the South from which cash may be expected as soon as the crop was harvested. The man who held the mortgage upon the crop discou-

raged, and in some cases prevented the farmers from giving much of their time and strength in growing anything except cotton. Negroes who lived within a radius of twenty miles of Tuskegee owned no land; the rest were sharecroppers or tenants who mortgaged the yield of their few acres in return for subsistence. The majority of Blacks who relied on the soil had little knowledge on proper fertilisation, crop rotation and diversification in agriculture. Washington remarked that farmers were trapped in cotton plantation and they could not have the opportunity to grow their food. In a country where pigs, chickens, fruits and vegetables could be produced with relatively little effort, Washington in contact with the Black community found out that the people were eating canned food imported from somewhere else.

2. THE NEED FOR A DISCIPLINED WORKFORCE IN THE NEWLY EMERGING INDUSTRIAL ORDER OF THE SOUTH.

In the period of social reconstruction in the antebellum years, the question of Black labour in the economic reconstruction of the South became of paramount importance. Following the Civil War, the White planters faced a situation where their railways were destroyed and much of their lands were lying in swaths and devastation. Northerners began to invest in the South because of the South's prosperous resources in forestry, mining and agriculture. Spivey (1978) remarked that Northern money dominated the development of industry in the "new" South. Railroad construction became an inviting frontier for White businessmen from the North. Southern coal, iron and steel and cotton industry also came to be largely under the control of Northern capital including Virginia's mines and furnaces. In this context, it was seen that the South depended upon an adequate supply of black labour. What was needed was a disciplined labour force willing to work as wage labourers with some of the skills

necessary for the "new" industrial pursuits. Hence the crusade for industrial education in the South became a rallying point for the request, discipline and exploitation of black labour and the need for skills.

THE EDUCATION OF THE BLACKS FOLLOWING THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN THE SOUTH

It was against this background that the issue of Negro education became of paramount importance. Horace Mann Bond (1966) argued that the greatest problem faced by the "new" social order after the abolition of slavery was to determine the place that the Negro should occupy in the social structure. He argued that the "Conservatives" of the South looked upon the Civil War as an incident that might overcome by appropriate legislation that could restore the Negro practically the same status he had occupied prior to the war. However, a group of White "Moderates" realised that the idea to recreate a system analogous to slavery was impossible. Among the "Moderates" were the owners of large plantations who realised that some concessions would have to be made to the suddenly awakened desire of Negroes for education as one of the devices by which they could secure for their enterprises a reliable labour supply. Since Northerners had economic interests in the South for establishing and formulating an education which they deemed suitable for the Blacks.

The education that the Northerners envisaged for the Blacks in the South was the type of education that would help them to improve their life in their communities as well as discipline them into a submissive and pliant labour force in the area of agriculture, trade and industries. Black labour was seen as a cheap source of labour for industrial enterprises. However, what the Blacks aspired to was the "academic" type of education which their White masters had received. Washington (1931) argued that

an "academic" type of education was desirable chiefly because it provided the only escape from manual labour; in addition, it gave the Negroes the feeling of superior being.. Black parents felt that an "academic" type of education would help to get their children into some respected professions in towns and cities. The White Southerners were very much in opposition to this higher social and educational aspiration of the freedmen because they thought that the Negroes would forget their "place" in the social structure. They wanted the Blacks to retain their position in the social hierarchy--on the lowest echelon of the social ladder even after slavery was abolished.

Samuel Chapman Armstrong who took a leading role in the Black Education Movement remarked that the real problem of the Black Southerners was their laziness and idleness. He stated that the freedmen's entire life-style demonstrated their lack of resourcefulness:

"They have no aspirations, or healthy ambitions; everything about them, their houses, their lands, their fences all bear witness to their shiftless propensity¹".

The idleness of which Armstrong spoke was the Hampton Blacks' occasional refusal to work or their very half-hearted manner of working in their exploitative White landlords. White educators realised that an "Industrial Education" based on manual training was essential for the economic growth of the South which depended on Black labour.

Spivey (1978) argued that the schoolhouse for Blacks was to replace the institution of slavery where they received training in discipline, manual work and skills in trades and craftwork. Formal education was to replace the discipline of slavery. According to Curry (a White spokesman in the educational planning for Black Southerners), industrial training was needed to counteract the intemperance, dissipation, laxity of morals and false views of religion among Blacks. The industrial schools were

to instill habits of cleanliness, develop personal character and discipline the will.

The educational solution of the South for the Black community was a "community-oriented" model of industrial education that would help to tie the Blacks back to the rural communities and to the South. The education that the Whites envisaged for the Blacks was an education relevant to the community's needs in terms of giving them skills to improve agriculture, produce local craftwork, learn trades and industries that were valuable to the service of the community and above all to produce self-reliant and productive members of their own community. The schoolhouse was to become of real service to the community. It was to produce a generation that would appreciate the love and dignity of manual labour and practise within the community what they have learnt in school and to improve the social and economic conditions of the community. One of the educational goals of the educational philosophy of the "Industrial Education" was community development in the sense that education would help the Blacks to improve their conditions of living in terms of health, sanitation, hygiene, nutrition, home, agriculture as well as maximise their wage earning capacities.

An industrial education in comparison with an "academic" type of education was thought to be necessary for the Blacks because it fitted them to the status quo. An "academic" type of education was seen as opening up new horizons for the Blacks, raised their level of social and occupational aspirations and increase their dissatisfactions with the conditions under which they worked and lived. Washington (1904) made the point that an "academic" education could have detrimental effects on community life because it might turn Negroes into the status of professionals and make them live off their community and to take jobs in

towns and cities. This would have detrimental effects on rural and agricultural development on which the South depended for economic advancement. There was also the fear on the part of White Southerners that an "academic" education could raise the Blacks' level of social, economic and political aspirations and lead them eventually to question and challenge the legitimacy of the society in which they hold a subordinate role to their White counterparts.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION-THE HAMPTON-TUSKEGEE MODEL OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

The real purpose of industrial education, as conceived by General Armstrong, the founder of the Hampton Institute and advanced by his pupil Booker T. Washington, the principal of Tuskegee Institute, was the adaptation of education to the needs of the pupil and the Black community. In his school reports as early as 1870, Armstrong expressed his views on the aims of industrial education.

"The education needed is one that touches upon the whole range of life, the aims at the formation of good habits and sound principles, that considers the details of each day; that enjoins in respect to diet, regularity, proper selection, and good cooking; in respect to habits, suitable clothing, exercise, cleanliness of persons and quarters, and ventilation, also industry and thrift; and, in respect to all things, intelligence and self-restraint²".

The industrial education advanced at Hampton and Tuskegee was an education adapted to life as it was presented in the rural community from which the pupils came.

According to Spivey (1978), Washington's idea of the Tuskegee Institute was to make the home and community a cohesive part of the institute. The industrial education which he envisaged for the Blacks was to become a "School/Community Movement". Washington argued that the industrial education's role was to produce the best of Black labour

indispensable to the White community. In his address at North Carolina he stated:-

"In a word, it seems to me that the whole future of our race hinges largely upon the question as to whether or not we can make ourselves of such indispensable service to the community where we live that the community will feel they cannot dispense with our service. If we can succeed in making ourselves indispensable, we find that this fact alone will settle a large number of vexing and perplexing questions".

The main emphasis of the pedagogy of the industrial school initiated at Hampton and followed by Tuskegee was an industrial training and character training. Moton (1905) made the point that Armstrong founded the Hampton Institute on the basis of character-building through practical education, industrial training and self-help. Students were drilled into the habits of manual work as soon as they entered the industrial school. Spivey (1978) remarked that during the first year of attendance at Hampton, students spent most of their time engaged in menial labour outside of the classroom. Similarly at Tuskegee, Washington had his students engaged in various work within the school system (i.e. construction work, repair work, cleaning, growing food in the school garden, cooking, etc.). At Tuskegee, students' labour was used in the erection of the school building and brick-making in the school construction. The earnings that the students received for their work in the school were credited to the students' accounts for the cost of board, washing facilities, rent and tuition fees. The manual training that the students received at Hampton and Tuskegee was to instill in them the dignity of labour.

The curriculum of Hampton and Tuskegee institutes was work-oriented. The various industries that were taught were related to the occupational needs of the community. The three basic types of training that the

students received were in technical, trade and agricultural education. The technical education was geared for professional work in the emerging technology-based economy. Students received instruction in applied science and technology and were taught architectural, freehand and mechanical drawing, electrical and steam engineering and founding. The training in trades was mainly geared for small towns and rural districts' occupations. Students were trained in blacksmithing, bricklaying, carpentry, cabinetmaking, machine work, painting, printing, shoemaking, steamfitting and plumbing, tailoring, binsmithing, upholstery and wheelwrighting. Women also received training in millinery, dressmaking, tailoring and broommaking. The industrial school prepared students for the world of work in their own community. The industrial training was to prepare the Blacks to make their own living and become productive members of their community.

As far as agricultural education was concerned, students attending Hampton and Tuskegee institute and subsequent schools influenced by those two institutions, were given instructions in agriculture in order to produce good farmers and improve agricultural techniques on which the Black population depended for their living. One of the objectives of the Tuskegee Institute, according to Washington, was to produce a generation of young farmers knowledgeable in soil fertilisers, farm crops, agricultural diversification, animal husbandry, farm machinery and marketing. The purpose of the agricultural training was to prepare pupils to become effective farmers and to assist local farmers to improve their methods. Washington (1901) envisaged that the agricultural training at Tuskegee would be able to produce Negro teachers or demonstrators in every community to help local farmers to improve agricultural techniques and to learn other things related to agriculture such as dairying,

management of farm equipments, stockraising, beekeeping and horticulture. Washington was not only concerned with teaching the Black community how to make a living in agriculture, but wanted to teach them how farming could be productive and lucrative to a point that farmers would be able to own the land they cultivated and improved their material conditions of living.

The curriculum of Hampton and Tuskegee also included home economics for girls with the aim that young women would be able to improve their homes, nutrition, health, sanitation and hygiene of their family as well as pass on this knowledge and practice to other members of the community. According to the Bureau of Education's Bulletin (1916), girls were taught simple course on home sanitation, the preparation and cooking of food, canning of fruits and vegetables, the sanitary care of the home, the prevention of tuberculosis, personal habits as affecting health and character as well as care of clothes. Practical training in housekeeping was carried out in the dormitories and in the teachers' and students' kitchen, dining rooms and laundries. Besides this, women were trained in housekeeping so that they could be fit for domestic occupations and services in the community.

The insistence on character-building, cleanliness, discipline and good work habits was prevalent in the curriculum of both Hampton and Tuskegee. Students were regularly inspected for cleanliness and hygiene (clean clothes, missing buttons, unpolished shoes, untidy dormitories, regular bath and teethcleaning). Peaboy (1918) mentioned about the practice of military drills "without arms" at the Hampton Institute. Armstrong's faith in military discipline stemmed from his experience as commander of a Black regiment during the Civil War. He argued that with its emphasis on regulation, order system, and obedience, military

training played a vital role in fostering those characteristics that Armstrong deemed appropriate for Blacks. Through military instruction, Armstrong intended to teach students a "respect for law" and a "proper regard for authority". According to Spivey (1978), religion also played an important part in the schools' curriculum. Students were indoctrinated with religious instruction, psalm singing and constant prayers. Religious instructions focused on the virtues of hard work, love for the Whites, submissiveness, charity and peace. After leaving the industrial schools, students were supposed to disseminate all the values that they have acquired in schools in the community by either preaching or teaching members of their own immediate community and the Black community at large.

Another aspect of education offered at the Hampton Institute was that it prepared individuals for the role of teachers. Hampton's primary mission was to train a cadre of black teachers who were expected to help adjust the black community at large in the Southern political economy. The Hampton-Tuskegee trained teachers were expected to act as community leaders and propagate the doctrine of self-help and dignity of labour among the black community. Armstrong's educational objectives in setting up the Hampton Institute was:-

"The things to be done was clear: to train selected Negro youths who should go out and teach and lead their people, first by example, by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they could earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor, to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands, and to those ends to build up an industrial system for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor but also for the sake of character".

Spivey (1978) remarked that a good majority of Hampton-Tuskegee graduates became teachers and were awarded teaching certificates whereas the rest were given trade certificates. The black teachers were regarded as valuable

resource persons in the community.

TUSKEGEE AND THE ANNUAL NEGRO CONFERENCE

The "Industrial Education Movement" also reached the non-student members of the community through the organisation of the Annual Negro Conference originally started at Tuskegee. Washington (1969) explained the aims of the conference as follows:-

"In the conference, two ends will be kept in view: First, to find out the actual industrial, moral and educational condition of the masses. Second, to get as much light as possible on what is the most effective way for the young men and women whom the Tuskegee Institute, and other institutions are educating to use their education in helping the masses of the coloured people to life themselves".

The annual conferences held at the Tuskegee Institute provided a platform for the masses of the black community to express their opinions on conditions prevailing in their own community. For example, they were encouraged to express their views on housing conditions, land cultivation, problems related with debts and mortgages on crops, school situations, educational progresses of those attending schools, quality of teachers, moral religious conditions of the community as well as problems of crime and deviance encountered in different communities. The conferences brought together large numbers of rural people to exchange ideas on farming, housing and general conditions of living with the staff of the school, listen to specialists in agriculture, trade, home improvement, etc. and renew their interest in rural life. The staff at the Tuskegee Institute helped to raise community's consciousness of how to grow their own food, own the land they cultivate, help their children to learn trades, insist that their ministers and teachers give more attention to the living conditions of their people.

Spencer (1955) argued that the Annual Negro Conference had positive

results in terms of identifying communities' needs and providing information and expertise in meeting these needs. For instance, George Washington Carver (a renowned agricultural scientist) acted as farming consultant to the conferences and was successful in imparting valuable knowledge on farming techniques and methods during the conferences. Spencer (1955) made the point that Washington also cared for those who were unable to attend these conferences. Washington sent his staff as demonstrators in the countryside to update farmers on valuable agricultural practices. Another result of the Annual Negro Conference was the initiations of a weekly women's meeting organised by Mrs. Washington. She developed a programme covering subjects such as morals among young girls, amusement for children, mothers' duty to the home, dressmaking, poultry raising and food canning. In addition to the Tuskegee's Negro conference and the Women's weekly meeting, Washington provided many other services for the Negro community. In 1892, he established a ministers' night school for the country clergy, a dispensary, a building and a loan association to aid in home building, a night school and a library for the Tuskegee community.

PENN SCHOOL

The Hampton-Tuskegee community-oriented education influenced other black schools in the Southern States of the United States. Among such schools is Penn Schpol (the island school located off the South Carolina mainland with its surrounding community of six thousand or so rural blacks). The island school provided a "perfect" model for community education in the sense that it was small and was at least partially insulated from the dominant currents of American life and provided an education adapted to the needs of rural community life. Davis (1980) argued that Penn School was influenced by the principles of vocational education developed at

Hampton Institute especially with its emphasis on education adapted to agricultural life and rural community conditions of living.

Penn school like its antecedents integrated school work with the needs of the community. According to Davis (1980), the main object of the school was to retain the young on the farms and in agriculture and to counteract the attraction of the cities and the mainland. The curriculum of Penn school focussed on agricultural education, health education, hygiene and home improvement. Penn graduates were expected to be of good service to their community and help improve standards of living. Education was also open for members of the community at large. Penn school also included adult education in its educational practice. The school's educational objective was geared towards rural and community development.

JEANES TEACHERS

At the turn of the twentieth century, despite Washington's effort to secure financial assistance to establish schools for the black community in the Southern States, provisions for Negro education in the rural Southern region were still deplorable. Some rural communities in the South were given limited financial support to segregated Negro education and devoted almost exclusively to elementary or industrial education.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the Jeanes Movement became an important aspect in Black education especially in the effort to improve rural schools and linking the schools with community's needs. In 1907, Miss Anna T. Jeanes, a humanitarian and philanthropist donated a substantial amount of money for the purpose of ameliorating the educational needs of the rural communities in the South. After April 1907, the Anna T. Jeanes foundation became known as the Negro Rural School Fund. The Rural School Fund Inc. made up of the Jeanes and Randolph Funds, along

with the Slater and Peabody Funds became the Southern Education Inc. and shaped the structure of support for Jeanes work.

The Jeanes workers (commonly known as Jeanes Teachers or Jeanes Supervisors) were mainly women graduates from Hampton and Tuskegee Institute. They fulfilled their duties as community leaders in helping to disseminate the Hampton-Tuskegee educational doctrines of self-help and dignity of manual labour in the larger rural Black community. The Jeanes Teachers were assigned to different parts of the Southern States to help in improving the poor conditions of the small Negro schools and the communities' way of living.

According to Williams et al. (1979), the Jeanes supervisors were initially involved in introducing simple forms of industrial work in the school, visiting and teaching at peoples' home, initiating home-making clubs, promoting gardens and health services. The Jeanes Teachers acted as mediators between home and schools. They convinced parents to send their children to schools and raised their awareness of how schools can help meet and improve community way of living. The Jeanes teachers also organised parents-teachers associations and helped in setting up adult education programmes.

As school supervisors, the Jeanes Teachers helped school teachers with their classroom responsibilities, became involved in curriculum planning, demonstration teaching and inservice education. They introduced handicrafts, household activities and industries relating to home and farm life in the curriculum as well as organised seminar on health education with the aim to inform rural community members how to improve sanitation, health and hygiene in local community.

According to Spivey (1978), the "Industrial Education Movement" was no coincidence in the "new" social order of the South following the Civil War. It was an appropriate form of education to assist in bringing racial order, political stability, material and economic prosperity within the social structure of post-slavery period. Schooling was replacing the stability lost by the demise of the institution of slavery. Davis (1980) argued that the industrial education was designed to fit Blacks into a subordinate position in a white-dominated society where they would serve community needs but not challenge white control. Davis remarked the Hampton and Tuskegee educational objectives were to produce community leaders for a stable, literate and semi-skilled community that would remain in a state of permanent economic, political, and social subordination to the dominant, white sector of the Southern States despite the fact that Washington's educational and social philosophy possessed a degree of ambivalence that did not necessarily lend itself to an acceptance of Black subservience and subordination.

Industrial education was practised under segregationist policy. This policy implied that Blacks were inferior to Whites and therefore needed an education that would place them in the lower echelon of the socio-economic order. The industrial education with its strong emphasis on manual labour socialised the Blacks into the values of working class. Peaboy (1918) remarked that General Armstrong did not expect most of his students to become agricultural labourers or the unskilled menial workforce of industry so that they would not become competitive with the White skilled labour force of the South. The curriculum of the Hampton industrial school was a way to temper the "unrealistic" aspirations of the Blacks. Through industrial education, General Armstrong hoped to control the Blacks, not to raise them to a level of parity with the Whites.

Washington subscribed to the white-imposed industrial education as a safeguard for racial hostility. According to Spivey (1978), Washington envisaged that the sensible thing for Blacks to do was to fashion a coalition with Whites in power to make themselves indispensable "objects" to the prosperity of the nation.

Anderson (1978) argued that General Armstrong viewed his own brand of industrial education as the appropriate pedagogy to mould the economic and political consciousness of prospective Black leaders and educators. Hampton's industrial education curriculum, therefore, was not intended primarily to create "small individualistic entrepreneurs" or to offer "negroes the technical training necessary for effective competition in an industrial age". It was designed mainly to train Black ideologues who were expected to model and transmit Armstrong's philosophy of Southern reconstruction to the Afro-American working class. To Armstrong, hard labour was the first principle of civilised life, and he drilled his students in manual labour routines so that they could effectively teach the value of routinised labour to the Black masses. Armstrong was not opposed to teaching trades to a few individuals, but he primarily sought to organise through his graduates a non-skilled or semi-skilled Black race that would shoulder the Southern economy. He envisaged that if the South was to achieve industrial and agricultural greatness, Black workers needed to be taught to "love" labour and to understand the meaning of work more than they needed trade or technical skills. Hampton's pedagogy which combined manual labour routine, political socialisation and social discipline helped to mould Black students to support the status quo.

Industrial education neglected to provide for the legitimate aspirations of the Black community beyond an elementary education. It rejected

the concept of providing schooling that would produce an educated elite. Du Bois, a notable coloured educator remarked that industrial education was stunting the growth of Negro higher education and destroying the opportunity for developing the best minds of Black race. He argued that:-

"In 1906 the United States was obsessed with what may be called the Hampton-Tuskegee idea of Negro education. It was in a sense logical and sincere and I would have said in 1900 that I believed in it, but not as a complete program. I believe that we should seek to educate a mass of ignorant sons of slaves in the three R's and the techniques of work in a sense of the necessity and duty of good work. But beyond this, I also believed that such schools must have teachers, and such a race must have thinkers and leaders, and for the education of these fold we needed good and thorough Negro colleges⁶".

Du Bois argued that education especially industrial education confined the Blacks to agricultural life. What he proposed was higher education for the talented Blacks who could assert themselves as national leaders.

CONCLUSION

The "Industrial Education Movement" of the Southern States of the United States initiated at Hampton and Tuskegee provides a clear case of how education was adapted to the "alleged" needs of the Black community. Many components of "community education" can be identified in the industrial education philosophy and they are as follows:-

- a) The Hampton and Tuskegee "industrial schools" were an integrative part of the life of the Black community.
- b) Through part-time and evening courses, the schools gave an equal chance to all members of the community to acquire an education.
- c) The Negro conferences initiated at Tuskegee institute provided an interaction between the school and the community. The community had an input in the schools by making the schools more responsive to community needs. Community involvement became an important aspect at Tuskegee Institute.
- d) The industrial schools' curriculum was relevant to the life of the community. It prepared students for community life (i.e. how to make a living in the community, grow their own food, improve their home conditions, etc.).

- e) The education imparted at Hampton and Tuskegee and other industrial schools including Penn School was related to the occupational needs of the community which depended largely on agriculture, rural and small towns trades and industries. Students acquired practical skills in these areas.
- f) The industrial schools also produced community leaders and teachers whose aims were to help to disseminate values and knowledge to the Black community at large on the ways to improve the social and economic conditions of the community (i.e. teach them better farm techniques, principles of good diet, health improvement, good sanitation, virtues of hard work, etc.).

The school/community movement of the Black industrial education was geared towards helping to integrate the Blacks into rural community living and agricultural life. It was an education, despite its community development goals, to adapt the Black community to the status quo. As it has been discussed earlier, the industrial education was a social control mechanism. It was an education geared to produce Black agricultural labourers and semi-skilled workmen of the lower socio-economic group. Education was an instrument used by the White race in order to control the social, political and economic position of the Black race within the social structure of the post-slavery period. The "Industrial Education Movement" was primarily an ideological force that provided the type of instruction suitable for adjusting Blacks to a subordinate social role in the emerging industrial order of the South.

FOOTNOTES

1. Armstrong Samuel Chapman to General Orlando brown. "Quarterly Report", 30th June 1868. Records of the BRF and Al Virginia. Letters Received. Quoted in Spivey, D. Schooling For The New Slavery. London: Greenwood Press, 1978, p.9.
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5. WASHINGTON, B.T. The Story Of My Life And Work. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969, p.304.
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CHAPTER 3

COMMUNITY EDUCATION IN THE COLONIAL CONTEXT OF BRITISH TROPICAL AFRICA AND INDIA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will seek to examine the emergence of a "community-oriented" education in British Colonial educational policies in Africa at the beginning of this century and to what extent the idea was put into practice. It will be argued that the British Colonial Memoranda on education adopted most of the community education recommendations of the American-Funded Phelps-Stokes Commission Report on Education in Africa in the 1920s which was influenced by the Hampton-Tuskegee educational principles for the Black community in the Southern states of North America.

This chapter will also include a brief section on the educational situation of British Colonial India especially with reference to community education in order to provide a contrast with the African situation. The "Community Education Movement" in India was essentially Gandhi's "Basic Education Movement".

EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLONIAL AFRICA PRIOR TO 1925

MISSIONARY EDUCATION

Prior to 1925, the British government did not have any clearly defined policy on education for its African colonies. "Laissez-Faire" was the order of the day and individual local administrators in consultation with the local Christian missions and their home offices managed their educational enterprise. Watson (1982) observed that during the period of "Laissez-Faire", education was largely left in the hands of missionaries. The main purpose of missionary education was proselytisa-

tion - the conversion of indigenous people to Christianity and the early missionary schools focussed on basic literary, numeracy, the reading and reciting of the Bible either in local language or in the local language or in the language of the missionary.

EMERGENCE OF WESTERN 'ACADEMIC' SCHOOLS

As colonialism expanded, the need for literate Africans to work in such positions as clerks and interpreters increased and the colonial authorities therefore encouraged the education of indigenous population largely to provide them with a supply of personnel to fill these lower level positions at a cost considerable lower than of they had to employ expatriates. The education offered was generally of an academic or literary type and practical skills were usually de-emphasised. The subjects chiefly taught were English, Greek, Latin, English History, etc. African cultural heritage and vernacular subjects were ignored. The focus of this education was to prepare citizens loyal to and willing to cooperate with the colonial authorities and not with preparing them for life in their traditional communities. The educational strategy resulted in the creation of an elite who eventually attended secondary schools where they could absorb the principles of the metropolitan culture.

WESTERN 'ACADEMIC' EDUCATION AS A THREAT TO TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY

Closely related to the emergence of western 'academic' education and white-collar employment was another tendency inherent in colonial society, namely, the decline of the traditional community as the central focus on everyday life. Traditional chiefs frequently opposed Western education because they perceived it as a threat to the local fabric of local communities and their own authority within these communities. They complained that the Western education did not equip individuals to improve life in their own communities. Instead their youths became estranged from

their own people and were no longer willing to cooperate in the life of their own communities and help to improve standards of living in their village¹.

Furthermore, following the First World War, there was a growing consciousness of the value and significance of traditional cultures. It was feared that African societies were becoming fragile, in danger of being replaced by a fragmented society characterised by disorientation, rootlessness, self-seeking individualism and blind copying of Western ways. It was argued that the healthy modernisation of these societies required opportunities for them to evolve without losing their own identity, and that a reformed school and education system might serve to cement and strengthen those aspects of traditional societies which would enable them to adapt to change and come to terms with the modern world through stable, integrated community progress².

The irrelevance of the education that was offered to the needs of the African community was becoming apparent among educators at the beginning of the twentieth century. A similar point was made as early as 1847 when Kay Shuttleworth through the Education Committee of the Privy Council in London urged the inclusion of practical studies related to agriculture and rural industries, health education and nutrition for the development of communities in British Colonial territories. He made the following remarks for improving education in that direction:-

"To make the school the means of the improving the condition of the peasantry, by teaching them how health may be preserved by proper diet, cleanliness, ventilation, and clothing, and by the structure of their dwellings. To give them a practical training in household economy, and in the cultivation of cottage garden, as well as in those common handicrafts by which a labourer may improve his domestic comfort³".

COMMUNITY EDUCATION - THE NEED FOR A 'RELEVANT' EDUCATION IN BRITISH
EDUCATIONAL POLICIES FOLLOWING THE SUGGESTIONS OF THE PHELPS-STOKES
COMMISSIONS' REPORTS

At the end of the First World War, the British government and the mission societies were ready for a new approach to education and a fuller recognition of the role of trusteeship as expressed in the League of Nations Mandate. In 1919, the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society of which Dr. James Henry Franklin was the foreign secretary, channelled a request through the Committee of Reference and Counsel of Foreign Mission Conference of North America for an African education survey. In 1920, the Phelps-Stokes Fund of the U.S.A. in cooperation with the International Education Board set up two commissions. The first studied education in West, South and Equatorial Africa and in 1922 produced a report entitled Education in Africa. The second covered East, Central and South Africa and produced a report entitled Education In East Africa in 1924. The leadership of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions was provided by Thomas Jesse Jones, an American sociologist, who had a unique experience as director of research at Hampton Institute in North America.

THE PHELPS-STOKES COMMISSIONS' COMMUNITY-ORIENTED EDUCATION RECOMMENDATIONS

The Phelps-Stokes recommendations strongly emphasised the need to link school and community learning and the adaptation of education to the needs of the community so that the young people could relate what they learned in schools to life as it was experienced in their own communities. A "community-oriented" education was thought to be necessary because it helped to socialise and integrate the young to remain in their own communities and equip them with the appropriate skills that would help to improve village life and increase productivity in the traditional sector

where the majority of Africans reside. Among the suggested changes in the school curriculum were the inclusion of such subjects as village crafts and agricultural training, health, hygiene and home improvement programmes. Suggestions were also made as to how to relate the ordinary school subjects such as arithmetic, geography, music and history to the "living consciousness" of the community. For instance, the teaching of arithmetic could be adapted to agricultural pursuits by asking children to make calculations with regards to the crops of the community - i.e. calculate the number of families having crops of various kinds, the value of crops as well as the length of time taken to consume crops. Geography and History could be geared to the local environment and the African culture. The reports also argued in favour of using vernacular textbooks in schools.

TEACHER TRAINING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Teacher training was thought to be important for the implementation of a "community-oriented" education and the dissemination of knowledge among people in the community who did not attend school. It was suggested that the Jeanes Teacher Training initiated in the United States should be adopted in Africa in order to train natives to be visiting teachers and help to establish "out-schools" in rural communities. This would enable them to teach the young and the older members of the community the essentials of health, hygiene, methods to improve agriculture, industrial skills as well as good home care.

"OUT-SCHOOLS" - THE NEED TO EDUCATE ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY

The idea of setting temporary "out-schools" in rural communities was also suggested for the welfare of the communities which were deprived of a permanent school facilities. The "out-schools" education idea was previously tried out among the Black community in the Southern states of

the U.S.A. The schools operated on a nonformal basis with the approval of the community. The teachers worked with the members of the community and they acquired their knowledge through demonstration classes based on the principles of "learning by doing". Among such schools were the "Movable School", "Farm Demonstration Movement", "Home Demonstration Movement". Teachers conducted their lessons by demonstrations and by using equipments found on the farms and at homes. Members of the community learned by participating in those demonstrations.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND THE BRITISH COLONIAL MEMORANDA ON EDUCATION

The Colonial Authorities adopted the Phelps-Stokes recommendations in their educational policies focussing on community education for the masses. For instance, in the policy document, Educational Policy In British Tropical Africa (1925), the key statement of the British educational policy was the following:-

"Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and the traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas as an agent of natural growth and evolution⁴".

Three aims were defined for education, "to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life", "to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of people in the management of their own affairs and "the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people belonging to their own race".

The central idea was thus to promote the evolution of the community as an integrated whole. Education so conceived was to "narrow the hiatus

between the educated class and the rest of the community whether chiefs or peasantry" and whilst the education for leadership was important and the door of advancement through higher education was to be kept open, the main thrust was to enable the bulk of the people to benefit and to ensure that those in leadership positions remained in spirit and culture part of their evolving society⁵.

In 1935, the British Advisory Committee on education produced a new memorandum which strengthened the philosophy of adapting education to the needs of the community. This memorandum was also concerned with rural education and community development--linking schools with their communities and the economic environment, using teachers as community leaders, the development of mass education, adult literacy programmes, agriculture, environmental studies as well as the stimulation of African initiative in education. Adult education was given great importance in this memorandum for as the statement noted:-

"The progress of a backward community will be greater and more rapid if the education of the adults is taken in hand simultaneously with that of the young...efforts to educate the young are often largely wasted unless a simultaneous effort is made to improve the life of the community as a whole⁶".

According to Cowan et al. (1966), the basic theme of this second memorandum was the need to educate all the members of the community despite their age and social status. The same theme was emphasised in a third memorandum entitled Mass Education In African Society issued by the Advisory Committee in 1944. The Committee warned that in the past, there has been a tendency to educate only segments of the population and that had a serious effect on the contribution of knowledge among members of the community. It was important to educate the adult members of the community in order to ensure that the older generation would not be out

of tune with and left behind by the younger generation would be benefitting from schooling.

IMPACT OF THE COLONIAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS IN AFRICA

Since the Colonial Office memoranda possessed only advisory status, the application of their principles depended upon the imagination and enthusiasm of the educationists in the various British dependencies (Thompson, 1981).

For instance, in Ghana, Foster (1965) noted that the whole period of the 1920s was marked by a systematic attempt to alter the basis of primary and secondary education in the direction of technical and agricultural studies. Not only were efforts made to introduce crafts and agricultural instruction in the schools, but the recommendations of the 1920 Committee under the jurisdiction of Governor Guggisberg were immediately implemented by the opening of four government trade schools in 1922 at Mampong, Kibi, Asuãnsi and Yendi. These supplemented the work of the government technical school at Accra. Attempts were also made to experiment with special types of agricultural curricula in rural areas. Foster (1965) added that perhaps the most dramatic efforts to develop a unique institution modelled on African lines was the creation of the Achimota school in Ghana. Achimota, despite the fact that it was a highly selective elite school made an attempt to evolve a curriculum adapted to the African environment and needs. This idea met strong opposition from Africans who were far less interested in the native content of African education.

The recommendations of British educational policies in the direction of community education were also implemented in other parts of Africa. Thompson (1981) mentioned that in Tanganyika, a considerable range of

community education experiments was carried out with the support of the Director of Education. Schools were built and organised on "tribal" lines--for instance, the CMS girls' school at Buigiri and the government schools developed by Mumford at Bukoba and later Malangali. In the 1930s, serious attempts were made by colonial administrative officers to encourage Native Authorities to develop their own tribal schools. In Kenya, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, Jeanes schools were established to train supervisory teachers to disseminate the community-oriented curriculum ideas. Thompson (1981) added that in several countries, special schools for the sons of traditional chiefs were established in the belief that more enlightened leadership would promote modernisation whilst preserving the integrity of local society and culture. Most of the African schools which attempted to adopt a community-oriented approach to education made an effort to include the teaching of practical hygiene lessons, handicrafts as well as agriculture through the school gardens.

The first Jeanes teacher training schools were set up in Kabete, Kenya in 1924. The curriculum of the Jeanes school was developed around a two-year course. Heyman(1970) remarked that the first year concentrated on giving the new students foundation in subject matter taught in the elementary and primary schools. Each subject was studied from the perspective of the teacher training his class of children in the village school. The material for study was drawn from the local environment. In addition to literary subjects, hygiene, agriculture and manual work were taught. In the second year, special emphasis was placed on the problems of supervising village schools and encouraging village development and the organising of meetings and recreational activities. The language of instruction at the Jeanes school in Kabete was Swahili.

Once Jeanes students had finished their two-year courses, they were sent back to their area of origin to help with village schools and community welfare. Jeanes teachers were expected to implement new subject matter in the primary school curriculum and attempt to link the activities of the school to those of the village in which they were located, for example, they were to sponsor joint school-village projects in well-construction, tree-planting and hygiene promotion and demonstrated to local primary school teachers how they might base their lessons on village life situations.

PROBLEMS AND DISCONTENTS WITH THE "COMMUNITY-ORIENTED" EDUCATION POLICY
IN COLONIAL AFRICA IN THE 1950s.

By the 1950s, when the Africans were aspiring towards the attainment of self-government, the education system of British Colonial Africa presented a very conventional appearance indicating that the experiences of community education were short-lived.

The following reasons for this lack of success were put forward by Thompson(1981). After the depression of the early 1930s, a nationwide modern sector concerned with administration and trade for which local manpower was needed began to be developed and therefore schools were found to emphasise a literary "academic" education needed for a modern sector employment. The steadily growing demand for people with a secondary or even (though to a more limited extent) a tertiary education of an internationally acceptable kind. Less emphasis was paid to community education, trade schools and vocational schools. Parents and students aspired more and more for a Western "academic" education because of the growing employment situation in the modern sector.

With regards to the above mentioned problems, the colonial government appointed a committee in order to find out why the 1925 and 1935 memoranda

on education were no longer valid. In 1951, two study groups - the Central, East African group headed by Binns and the West African group headed by Jeffrey investigated this situation and educators in Africa came under criticism:-

"for providing too superficial an education and for providing it to too few children; for being too much bound by external examinations; for being too bookish and unpractical; for producing too many clerks and too few farmers, artisans, technicians, and reliable administrators; and for utterly failing to stop the drift to towns, the decay of agriculture, the break-up of tribal society, and the loosening of moral standards". (p.5).

The study groups' recommendations restated many of the ideas already present in the 1925 and 1935 memoranda on education in Africa with their strong emphasis on community education in rural Africa. The key element for community education was agriculture and therefore changes in the curriculum in terms of including agriculture and other practical work were advocated in order to bring about change of attitude among students and parents. However, these recommendations did not get fully implemented because most of the African states were moving towards independence from Colonial rule and the colonial power was now concerned primarily to train Africans to replace Europeans in the modern sector of the economy and this exercise called for an expansion of the traditional "academic" educational programmes.

REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLONIAL AFRICA

Berman (1971) argued that British educational policies of adapting education to rural community needs did not materialise in Africa because they subscribed to an American solution to the problems of Negroes in the Southern states of the U.S.A. The Phelps-Stokes African Education Commissions represented one of the early attempts to link Black Africa with Negro America. The positions of the Africans were equated with those

of the American Negroes and the Phelps-Stokes Commissions reports were said to have read like the report on Negro education with a different locale.

Foster (1965) remarked that it was clear that the Phelps-Stokes recommendations were based on the wholesale transfer of concepts and practices developed with respect to Negro education in the Southern United States. The emphasis on technical, vocational and agricultural education adapted to the needs of the African community was far from what the Africans aspired to. Moreover, the Africans were hardly consulted as to what kind of education were useful to the development of their country. Foster made the point the Africans became resistant to the idea of community education because they realised that this kind of education combined inferior economic opportunities with the notion of tying the bulk of educated Africans to the land. Foster noted that Western education was becoming the most visible and tangible manifestation of European power and hence access to that power demanded entry to the type of education provided in the metropole itself. Since it was through the medium of an "academic" education that an individual had access to the most prestigious and highly paid occupations, it would appear that the Africans demand for it was totally realistic in view of the reward system. Had the colonial government made the rewards of an agricultural and vocational training superior or equal to those of an "academic" education, there was every likelihood that the Africans would have responded with enthusiasm to it. However, as the goal of the educated Africans was the white-collar jobs held by Europeans, it was somewhat unrealistic to assume that by a wave of the policy wand, one could transform aspirations from academic to agricultural or technical education without a similar transformation of the social and economic system of the colony⁷.

Castle (1972) similarly argued that the real cause of the unpopularity of "community-oriented" education or so called "relevant education" could be attributed to a complete failure of misunderstanding of the African educational and occupational aspirations in the 1920s and after. The ordinary African, the man in the field and market place wanted for his children the same sort of education which his white masters had enjoyed. According to Castle, the Africans regarded community education as an inferior product devised to perpetuate their inferior status.

The idea of the Jeanes visiting teachers was a direct transplant from Hampton and Tuskegee. According to King (1976), the impact of the Jeanes teachers was limited in Africa. For instance, in Kenya, the Jeanes teacher training schools had difficulties to operate a community-oriented curriculum as well as to recruit students. Africans of ability wanted to advance their own school achievements, especially in English and were not attracted by a course which aimed at professional training for teaching and the broadening of the village school curriculum. King remarked that there was a real problem that trained Jeanes teachers were not confident or able enough in the academic subjects to give the intended boost to standards and relevance of work in primary schools. Rather they concentrated on community development work. Heyman (1970) noted that the missions were reluctant to let their best teachers go for two years training. Since the best teachers were interested primarily in advancing their status, they were not attracted to professional training course which prepared them to remain in the villages to teach. After training, Jeanes teachers realised that their work was not what pupils and village teachers aspired for.

The idea of community education did not succeed in British colonial Africa because parents and students realised that an "academic" education

meant economic advantages, status achievement and occupational mobility. Parents encouraged this attitude, and in fact, demanded that schools could continue to provide an "academic" education because of its apparent advantages in the modern sector in comparison with scarcity and low standards of living in rural communities. Therefore, it was not surprising that the majority of African parents resisted the colonial attempts to introduce non-academic, vocational and practical studies at the village level. Community education was a way to justify the non-provision of academic education to the masses in fear of too many Africans acquiring the qualifications held by the few privileged ones. A highly educated mass was a threat to the colonial authority because the former might be in a position to challenge the power of the latter and take over responsibilities of the British Officials (Abernethy, 1969).

COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND THE CASE OF COLONIAL INDIA

BRITISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN REGARDS TO COMMUNITY EDUCATION

In contrast to the British educational policy in Colonial Africa regarding the importance of "community-oriented" education, the colonial educational authority in India showed very little interest in that direction. The colonial government was interested to train and educate a small class of English educated Indians who could speak and write the English language and work as civil servants for the public administration. An "academic" type of education was developed to that end and it was hoped that the knowledge of the elite would filter down the masses.

Basu (1982) remarked that education in the colonial era had a predominantly literary bias. There was little provision for community education. The exclusion of vocational training and technical subjects from the curricula and the small number of institutions offering such

courses was closely tied to the employment policy of the government. All higher appointments in engineering service, railway service and other superior services were reserved for Europeans. An "academic" type of education had several advantages for the Indian themselves. Knowledge of English was necessary for traders, businessmen such as the Parsis in Bombay who collaborated with the East-India Company and private business houses for commercial reasons. Passing an examination and obtaining a degree was a passport for entering the governments' service or the professions such as law, medicine and journalism. English education was also a means of social mobility. Men from the lower castes would raise their social status by acquiring a Western "academic" type of education.

The idea of relating education to community needs was briefly mentioned during Lord Curzon's period as viceroy in India. In his report, Resolution On Educational Policy (1904), Lord Curzon proposed curriculum changes in favour of adapting education to local needs and to this end, he encouraged the teaching of agriculture as a school subject and urged the need to train rural primary school teachers in agriculture. Curzon also proposed that an attempt should be made to spread agricultural education among the people by introducing agriculture as a subject at a higher level of education such as the Middle and High school stage. However, Lord Curzon's ideas were not properly worked out. His ideas were mechanically interpreted either to imply the teaching of agriculture as an additional subject or to provide a simpler course than that taught in urban schools. Curzon's early departure in 1905, prevented him from carrying through his plans and in the decade that followed, the idea of separate curricula for rural schools was abolished (King, 1976).

INTEGRATION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY DURING THE INTER WAR YEARS

The idea of "relevant education" became apparent in India during the inter war years. For example, in the late 1920s, the Hartog Committee pressed for the curricula in middle vernacular schools to be remodelled and adapted to rural requirements. The committee recommended that village school should be the centre of community learning and that education provided in village schools should be geared towards community development (i.e. training people in ways to improve health, hygiene, sanitation in the villages as well as teaching them the notion of thrift, self-help and self-reliance). The Hartog Committee also suggested that the school itself could claim a leading and respected place in the village community by directly assisting in the provision of medical relief, adult instruction, vernacular literature and recreation. In the 1930s, the committee reviewed the agricultural instruction given in middle schools in certain areas and stated that village schools should be organised so as to become the most effective instruments of rural reconstruction. However, these ideas were hardly put into practice.

THE COMMUNITY EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN INDIA THROUGH GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY OF BASIC EDUCATION

In the early 1900s, when a strong sense of nationalism was developed in India, Indian educators showed great concern about British educational policies in the country. They realised that education was moving along the lines of a foreign culture and that only a few privileged sections of the population was benefitting from it. Mass illiteracy was prominent and there were problems of wastage and drop-outs in primary education.

Mahatma Gandhi became a spokesman on the issue of education and formulated an educational programme more suited to the needs of the Indian people. Traditional India is predominantly rural and agricultural

and Gandhi wanted to preserve it as such. To reconstruct the Indian way of life as he visualised it, Gandhi introduced the idea of "Basic Education". According to Thomas (1970), Gandhi based his assumptions of basic education on the idea that India's cultural traditions should be reduced truth and non-violence and that India had to maintain its agricultural rural life in order to preserve its cultural heritage which he felt the British were undermining. To protest against the British rule in India, Gandhi launched his Non-Cooperation Movement whereby he asked students to boycott government schools and colleges and criticised the literary bias of the Western "academic" education. It was with this idea that he launched his "Basic Education Movement" which was a form of protest against the British rule.

Gandhi wrote a series of articles on education in the journal Harijan which provoked great controversy and opposition from many quarters but helped to see from a fresh perspective the nature of education in the country. The same year, a conference was called at Wardha under the presidency of Gandhi. The members of the conference discussed Gandhi's ideas and the following resolutions were formulated and passed unanimously:-

- 1) that in the opinion of the conference, free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nationwide scale.
- 2) that the medium of instruction be the mother tongue.
- 3) that the conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this centre around some productive form of manual work, and that all other abilities to be developed or training to be given should as far as possible be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.
- 4) that the conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers.

BASIC EDUCATION - THE NEED TO INTEGRATE SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY LEARNING

Gandhi's proposals on Basic Education as advocated in the Wardha

Scheme were officially adopted in educational policy by the Congress Party in March 1938. The Wardha Scheme emphasised free compulsory education at the elementary stage conducted in the mother tongue for eight years with the curriculum organised around manual and productive work which would fit students in their community and make them productive members in their villages. Gandhi proposed that schools should focus on the teaching of basic crafts such as spinning, weaving, carpentry, agriculture, fruits and vegetables gardening, leather work and any other crafts for which local geographical conditions were favourable. It was hoped that pupils should not only acquire knowledge but also manual skills which would be familiar to them and their community and develop skills so that they could pursue an occupation in their own field of interest after leaving school and become self-reliant members of the community. Owing to budgetary constraints in education, pupils were urged to sell the crafts work which they produced in school in order to contribute to their own school expenses.

Thomas (1970) made the point that the working of basic schools were fundamentally different from the traditional schools in the sense that they were project-oriented. Students undertook projects for a period of time and these projects served as a basis of integrated school and community learning. The various subjects such as mathematics, social studies, general science were taught with craft as the focal point (See Appendix II). These subjects were correlated with craft, spinning and weaving. The particular crafts chosen in basic schools were intimately bound up with the life of the community. Some of the crafts taught in basic schools were: spinning and weaving in cotton growing areas, pottery in clay regions, carpentry in forest regions and agriculture in areas where that land cultivation was the main occupation.

The Wardha Scheme also suggested plans for teacher training in order to implement Basic Education. When the Wardha Scheme was put into practice, teachers were given an intensive course of a few weeks or months and later on this extended for one year. Teachers training experience comprised of practical work in the community. They had to perform social services outside the school. Student teachers also had to learn craft work from particular community in which they were placed.

ADULT EDUCATION

The Gandhian "Community Education Movement" also incorporated adult education as part of his "Basic Education" principle. Gandhi attached great importance to adult education as the was mainly concerned about the problem of poverty and illiteracy in Indian villages. He suggested that adult education could only succeed if it is based on the notion of "functional literacy" (Mehta, 1974). To this end, adult education should be related to everyday life activities of the villages and centered on craft work and agriculture where knowledge can be used to improve work skills, competency and productivity.

Gandhi devised four agencies of adult education: the school, the Samgar Gram Sevak (Multi-Purpose Village Level Worker), Ashrams and mass prayers. The schools were to be of the basic pattern where education centered on the problems of the community and the school community was to be the local community in microcosm with all its problems, which were attempted to solve with the help of intelligence and resourcefulness but at the local level availability. The school would extend its services to the village through the children and the community would come to the school and observe what was being done in the school to tackle problems similar to theirs. The "ashrams" were seats of residence

for intelligent and dedicated workers who sought to live at the resource level of the community but making life more comfortable and productive through the application of intelligence. These workers carried their message to the community. Similarly the community visited the "ashram" and as what was being done there was relevant to their problems, they picked up many useful lessons. The fourth instrument which Gandhi used--an ancient one--was of mass prayer meetings, through which he carried to the community not only his message of the harmony of all religions but also gave his views on the problems of the day⁹.

IMPLEMENTATION OF BASIC EDUCATION IN INDIA

The new scheme of Basic Education was launched with great enthusiasm in 1978. The first institution of Basic Education, the Vidya Mandir Training Schools was opened in April 1938 at Wardha to train teachers. Gradually steps toward the introduction of Basic Education as an experimental measures were taken by the governments of Central Province, United Provinces, Bihar and the State of Kashmir. Necessary arrangements were made for the opening of the new Basic Schools and the conversion of existing primary schools into the pattern of basic schools.

Thomas (1970) observed that before India achieved its independence, some state governments appointed committees to study education. A wave of educational reconstruction seemed to pass over the country. The Central Advisory Board of Education appointed a committee with the Prime Minister and Education Minister in Bombay as president. He was authorised to examine the scheme of educational reconstruction incorporated in the Wardha Scheme in the light of the Wood and Abbot Report on General and Vocational Education and other relevant documents and to make recommendations. The commissions accepted the main principle of

Basic Education and adopted the syllabus with minor changes to suit local needs.

By 1946, when national governments were formed in almost all provinces, the education ministers accepted the introduction of Basic Education as one of their first tasks. It was considered by them as an integral part of the programme of rural reconstruction. After India became independent in 1947, special emphasis was placed on the development of basic schools which was accepted as the national system of education at the elementary level. In the first five-year plans, money was set apart for the expansion of basic education.

PROBLEMS WITH BASIC EDUCATION IN THE LATE 1950s

During the late 1950s and 1960s, Basic Education lost its favour among the public eyes and come under severe criticisms. During that time, there was widespread support for India to move towards industrialisation and the modern application of science and technology and there was a concern for a shift in educational policy.

In 1956, an Assessment Committee was appointed to study Basic Education. The Committee found that Basic Education was not being implemented properly since the concept was interpreted in various ways by people in authority. It was also observed that in many states, basic teachers training was not satisfactory and that it was difficult to conduct good schools. These teachers were attempting to revert to the traditional method of classroom teaching based on book-knowledge and passive learning. Many schools which were considered as Basic Schools were not operating according to basic education principles.

The committee also observed that there was some confusion concerning Basic Education at the higher level. Officials in the education depart-

ment of certain states who controlled administration, policies and finances of basic education frequently had no understanding, faith or training in it. The chairman of the Assessment Committee found that there was an enormous gulf between the increasing content of basic education and its unsatisfactory progress, administrative confusion, uncertainty about the future of those who would complete the courses¹⁰.

CONCLUSION

In the case of both colonial Africa and India, British educational policies channelled a Western "academic" education as a means of educating a minority rather than a means of educating the masses. In the case of Africa, community education was imposed on African dependencies from above by the Colonial Authority. This type of education was prescribed for the masses who mainly live in rural Africa. The manifest function of such an education was to help improve village life and raise the standards of living in rural communities. Community education was also used as an instrument of social control. This type of education was prescribed for the majority who live in the villages and helped to tie them to agriculture and the traditional sector which remained undeveloped in comparison with the modern sector. The colonial powers were interested in gaining access to Africa's mineral wealth and in developing cash-crop agriculture in tropical products (cocoa, coffee, rubber, palm oil, groundnuts, cotton and so on). Therefore, a Western "academic" education was unnecessary for the vast majority of Africans whose lands and labour were put to use in order to further the ends of the colonial powers (Blakemore and Cooksey, 1980:40).

In the case of India, the Colonial Authority did not pay too much attention to educate the masses nor to impose community education. The

idea of community education came from below through the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi was against British rule and criticised British institutions in India including their educational system. The idea of Basic Education was a form of protest against British rule. It rejected British educational ideology. Basic education was a way to Indianise the educational system prior to Independence and make the country more self-reliant and less dependent on British manufactured goods.

However, the idea of community education did not take root and by the 1960s, both in India and Africa, educational policies changed. Most independent African countries as well as India moved towards alternate development plans (i.e. industrialisation and modernisation). A Western type of education was restored because it helped to assimilate knowledge from the metropolises who were already far advanced in science and technology.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL/EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is: a) to trace the early development of the Community School/Education Movement in the United States of America, b) to explain the modern concept of "community education", c) to examine the rationale behind the movement in an advanced industrialised nation such as the U.S., d) to critically analyse the ideological assumptions of this educational reform.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY SCHOOL/EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

"ONE-ROOM SCHOOLHOUSE"--SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY INTERACTION IN THE 19th CENTURY

Most contemporary educators recognise many elements of modern community education in the organisation and operation of the first public schools known as "one-room schoolhouse" in nineteenth century rural America. The "one-room schoolhouse" was a community school in the real sense of the word. It was organised, staffed, housed and operated through cooperative community efforts and was almost totally responsive to community's needs. Most of these schools were on donated land and built by community's efforts. There was an active community's participation in the educative process of the school. Parents were involved in the decision-making process of the schools and they could voice their opinions on important issues such as curriculum, methods of teaching, budget, the hiring and firing of teachers, etc.

The "one-room schoolhouse" blended into the rhythm of the community's life and work. School calendars were carefully arranged so as to be most convenient to the community. Students did not have to attend school

during harvest seasons and when their labour was mostly needed in the local community. Although the formal school curriculum was largely restricted to the three R's, it reflected the mores of the community. Children and young adults learned skills that were considered useful in the local community.

The early "one-room schoolhouse" was a multi-purpose school for the local community use. For instance, the school served as a civic, social, cultural, and recreational center. It was there that musical presentations were made; pie suppers, folk dances, and other social events were held; community issues were settled; circuit-riding judges held court sessions; and elections took place. Schoolhouses often served as meeting places for sewing circles, reading clubs, fraternal orders, veteran organisations and churchers. In addition, people turned to the schools for all sorts of services. Since the bulk of the population was illiterate, the local schoolmaster or schoolmarm wrote and read letters, settled arguments, and generally served as a consultant and arbitrator on community matters¹.

THE MODERN COMMUNITY SCHOOL CONCEPT, ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT FROM THE 1930s UP TO THE 1960s.

The impetus for the twentieth century Community School/Education Movement seemed to have arisen during the economic depression of the 1930s particularly in Flint, Michigan. Hiemstra (1971) noted that between 1932 and 1935, Flint was experiencing several kinds of problems. The community depended a great deal on the auto industry and the recession affected the employment situation. Flint was greatly hit by the recession. Some people left in search of work and others moved in Flint hoping to find jobs. The instability of the situation made it difficult to obtain a stabilised educational programme. Besides this,

there was little financial support for the schools. Teachers' salaries were so low that many fine teachers left the community. Among other community problems, the incidence of juvenile delinquency was rising often resulting in damage to school property and community buildings. In addition, minority and poor people were often out of work or in part-time employment leading to community tensions and uneasiness. Crime rates also rose in Flint.

In the midst of all those social problems, the public schools became of real service to the community and helped to marshal resources and initiate activities that could help to alleviate some of the problems that the community was facing at that time. The idea of extending the school for community's use was initiated by Frank Manley (physical Education and Recreation Supervisor in Flint public school) out of his concern for the problems of juvenile delinquency and vandalism. He realised that the school facilities could be made available after school hours, especially playgrounds, in order to prevent children from playing in city streets and become engaged in deviant activities. The idea of community schools was developed out of these concerns when Manley secured financial assistantship from Charles Stewart Mott, a wealthy automobile executive director to develop programs (educational, recreational, cultural and social) for the community.

In 1935, the Mott Foundation which was originally founded "for the purpose of supporting religious, educational and recreational activities for the public benefit", contributed an initial \$6,000 to the Flint Public Schools for purposes of a greater utilisation of the school facilities for various community activities.

Dowdy (1975) remarked that the public school in Flint extended its

activities to include many recreational and educational programs for youth as well as adults. The school facilities were made available after normal school hours and sometimes on week-ends for the community to either swim, play basketball, soft ball or to take adult education classes in vocational and avocational areas. Flint school also maintained the link between home, school and community. For instance, Dowdy (1973) noted that the school started a breakfast programme not just to lead hungry children, but to teach their mothers the value of breakfast, how to fix a nourishing breakfast and how to do it with their own limited budget. Many parents participated in the programme and learned basic skills in home economics.

The Mott Foundation played a key role in supporting community school education programmes in Michigan and elsewhere in the United States. It should be noted that the concept of community education right up to the mid 1960s meant after-school or add-on programs for the community. This included extra activities for children, youth, adult education and recreational programmes². The Flint school board became a national model for community education throughout the United States and the Mott Foundation began supporting other communities to adopt the community education concept. In the mid fifties, new schools were built in Flint and elsewhere and they acted as community centers with facilities such as gymnasiums, auditoriums, libraries, cafeterias, craftshops and community rooms. This multipurpose school allowed many community activities to take place in the school plant. The idea that the school was an integral part of community life gained wide recognition in the United States. In the fifties and sixties, many schools operating as community schools developed community-oriented programmes such as adult literacy,

enrichment programmes, vocational and avocational programmes, etc.

In 1948, the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development created a new committee on the community school and came out with suggestions of how the school curriculum could become community-oriented. The committee recognised the importance of the community as being a "learning laboratory" and that various community resources could be utilised for the enrichment of school programmes. In 1966, a National Community Education Association was formed and began to direct efforts towards promoting and expanding the community education concept nationally.

THE COMMUNITY EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN THE 1970s

Following the political, educational and economic problems of the 1960s, there developed a renewed and intensified interest in the idea of community education idea in the 1970s.

In the United States, federal and state legislation were enforced for developing and expanding the theory and practice of community education. Various Acts--ranging from the Adult Education Act to the Model Cities Programs and the Vocational Education Act began to be introduced which in many ways benefitted the Community School Programs. These included the Community Schools and Comprehensive Community Education Act of 1978 which added several new titles to the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965. This resulted in the recognition of the pivotal role of the public school system in the evolution of community-side network of educational facilities and resources. In an attempt to transform the concepts of community education into public policy, Section 802 of the Act declared in its statement of findings and policy that:-

1. The school is an integral part of the local human service delivery system;

2. The school is primary institution for the delivery of services and may be the best instrument for the coordination of frequently fragmented services including benefits obtained by energy savings and parental involvement in the delivery of such services.
3. Community education promotes a more efficient use of public education facilities through an extension of the school building and equipment.
4. As the primary educational institution of the community, the school is most effective when it involves the people of that community in a program to fulfill the educational needs of individuals of the community; and
5. community schools provide a great potential for the use of needs assessment as a basis for human resources policies.

Fantini (1983) noted that this Act formed the basis of policy implementation of community education on federal, state and local levels. It stressed collaborative community education programs which were to coordinate social services, make efficient use of school facilities; and support research and development programmes with an emphasis on community education. In the 1970s, federal funds were made available to assist local public school system in implementing community education.

DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN COMMUNITY SCHOOL CONCEPT AND COMMUNITY EDUCATION CONCEPT

In 1970s, literature on community education proliferated in the United States. With the increase in supply of this literature, however, came many different definitions of the community education concept. It seemed that each author had his or her own perception of the major characteristics which other writers considered important. Unfortunately, this "all inclusive" approach to describing community education left the reader with a somewhat confused perspective on the vital features of community education. In addition, the literature has tended to be atheoretical, being descriptive, prescriptive and lacking in empirical verification.

As from the 1970s, educators began to differentiate the concept of

community school from community education (Kerensky and Melby, 1975), (Decker, 1972), Minzey and Le Tarte, 1979). For instance, Minzey and Le Tarte (1979) argued that the concept of community education was lost in the pursuit of specific programmes and focussed on course offerings and add-on programmes to the regular school programmes. Many public schools were turned into "community schools" because of the simple fact that they were opened after normal school hours for community activities or provided extra programs or extra-curricular activities for adults and youth. What was lacking in theory and practice was community involvement in planning and decision-making.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION AS AN EDUCATIONAL PROCESS FOR COMMUNITY PROBLEM-SOLVING

In the seventies, the concept for "community education" acquired a new dimension. Community education began to be defined as an educational process for community-problem solving (Minzey and Olsen, 1969), (Totten, 1970), (Seay and Associates, 1974), (Minzey and Le Tarte, 1972).

Minzey and Le Tarte, two prominent educators in the field of community education have recently developed a conceptual framework through which the process aspect of community education has been clarified. For instance, in Community Education: From Program To Process To Practice (1979), they defined community education as a

"philosophical concept which serves the entire community by providing for all the educational needs of all its members. It uses the local school to serve as the catalyst for bringing community resources to bear on community problems in an effort to develop a positive sense of community, improve community living, and develop the community process toward the end of self-actualization" (pp.2-27).

To them, "community self-actualization" occurs when a community develops its potential to identify problems and takes the initiative and the necessary actions to solve these problems. Hence, community education is an educational process which involves members of a particular communi-

ty to cooperate, work together to identify common problems and needs and seek out solutions to these problems. The term process is used to deal with more extensive community involvement in problem-solving and in decision-making. However, Minzey and Le Tarte (1979) explained that both programmes and process are important to the total concept of community education. While the development of community education tends to be from program to process, it is possible for it to develop in reverse fashion.

The idea of community problem-solving has become an important aspect in the modern community education concept in the United States. Minzey and Le Tarte remarked that it is from the conceptualisation of community as a feeling of commonality of interests, views and goals and a sense of like-mindedness rather than a geographical boundary and education as a means of understanding and dealing with any real life experiences that the purpose of community education can be realised. Community education encompasses all facets of education including basic, formal, nonformal, vocational, recreational education among others. The process aspect of community education interprets education as an ongoing process whereby community members collaborate, identify common problems and goals and indulge in collective action based on shared understanding, tolerance and self-help. From this perspective, the process is the key to rejuvenating community-level, grassroot participation as well as consensus.

Community development is seen as an integral part of community education concept since the latter's goal is towards the improvement of community life. Biddle and Biddle (1965) argued that community development is an educational enterprise because it helps people to work as a group, develop skills and competency in community problem-solving

methods, exercise their democratic skills and mobilise for group action. Community development is a social process by which human beings become competent to cope with and gain some control over local aspects of their environment which are affecting their lives and bring about social change.

In practice, Minzey and Le Tarte (1979) asserted that most school districts follow a pattern of community education as indicated in Figure I. — The program stages are normally self-evident, it is the process end of the continuum which often threatens school administrators. This blockage occurs partly to the fact that school districts perceive community education as dealing with the first four components and feel that these encompass community education in toto. The other reason is that school districts are unwilling or unable to provide the additional staff and funds necessary for components five and six.

FIGURE I

PROCESS	COMPONENT 6	↑	COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT
PROCESS	COMPONENT 5	↑	DELIVERY AND COORDINATION OF COMMUNITY SERVICES.
PROGRAM	COMPONENT 4	↑	ACTIVITIES FOR ADULTS
PROGRAM	COMPONENT 3	↑	ACTIVITIES FOR SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN
PROGRAM	COMPONENT 2	↑	USE OF FACILITIES
PROGRAM	COMPONENT 1	↑	K-12

COMMUNITY SCHOOL COORDINATION AND COMMUNITY ADVISORY COUNCIL

Two administrative innovations have taken place in community schools in the United States in order to facilitate the "process" aspect of community education. They are the creation of the Community School Coordinator position and the Community Advisory Council.

The Community School Coordinator acts as 'liaison person between the school and the community and tries to organise programs in the school according to community's needs. The coordinator works in collaboration with other agencies in the community such as welfare department, health, recreation and social work department, etc. and tries not to duplicate services already provided by these agencies. The coordinator acts as a broker, relating community problems to resources and making referrals to the appropriate sources. The Community School Coordinator provides the coordination necessary to direct people to the appropriate resources for help and organise programs to help people identify problems and collaborate to solve them. The Community Advisory Council which is composed of a cross-section of the community is involved in the decision-making process. Members in the council can make decisions on such matters as curriculum, methods of teaching and matters related to local community's needs and suggest ideas of how the school can help to alleviate community problems such as unemployment, crime, racism, etc.

RATIONALE FOR COMMUNITY SCHOOL/EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND THE NEED FOR A "RELEVANT" EDUCATION

Community education became popular on the educational scene in the 1970s as a consequence of the disillusionment of what Kerensky and Melby (1975) call the "traditional", "obsolete schoolhouse education". They argued that the "schoolhouse education" was too obsessed with cognitive learning at the expense other aspects of education of which personality development is an important ingredient. The "traditional" school failed to take into account that the child's whole environment educates and that education takes place as a result of interaction between the individual and the totality of his environment. The "schoolhouse education" was

too much book-centered and academic in nature and education was confined to the four walls of the school, divorced from the reality of everyday living. In other words,

"the school was like a castle surrounded by a moat and usually, the community beyond was ignored. At the close of the day, the drawbridge was let down again and the child went back into the community, generally failing to notice the relation of the discipline and the school subject studies to actual process and problems living there".

Olsen and Clark (1977) also remarked that the traditional school system relied too much on an academic curriculum and passive learning. Students were unable to relate what they learn in school to what goes on in reality in their own community. Much of the learning required was irrelevant. It was prepackaged primarily to produce academic acceptability later, rather than as a means for more effective personal and community living outside the school.

What community educators seem to be arguing for is a change in the nature of pedagogy and curriculum in the "traditional" school and to accommodate a closer integration of home, school and community as part of the learning process provided in the schools. Seay (1974) stresses that community education implies a reciprocation of services between school and community. The school helps to provide facilities for community activities and the community helps to provide resources for the instructional programs of the school. Hiemstra (1972) refers to the community as a "living learning laboratory" from which the school can draw upon for a large measures of their curricula. Extending the school in the community means that:-

"Learners could go out to all parts of the community, where various facilities can be shared, resource persons can be utilized, and most importantly, scarce financial support for education can be used as efficiently as possible. In

this situation YMCA sites are used for physical education classes; the public library becomes a media and book center; the parks are recreation centers; zoos, museums, and art galleries became actual examples for various subject areas, and business and industry settings become the bases for career education".

Community education can thus engender the need for relevancy in the curriculum.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Community education provides a new formulation for education whereby the term "education" is equated to life-long experience instead of schooling for certain age group only. Olsen and Clark (1977) remark that the "schoolhouse education" restricted their goals and programmes to one small portion of a person's life without recognising the significant roles they can play in providing lifelong education. Community education recognises that education is an ongoing process and should include all members of the community - people of all ages, races, religions, and socio-economic backgrounds (Totten, 1970). Minzey and Le Tarte (1979) remark that community schools now include adult members of the community in the formal learning process. This group comprises of adults who have passed the school legal age and they are the persons in need of basic educational skills, high school diplomas, vocational skills or who need programs related to avocational interests, health, physical activity or personal problems. In essence, community education recognises the need for a "new" equality in educational opportunity and the need to strengthen a meritocratic society.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION - AN ATTEMPT TO RECREATE A MISSING SENSE OF COMMUNITY IN URBAN AMERICA

The impact of industrialisation and urbanisation has resulted in depopulation of rural communities where the essence of "community" was important in different aspects of life (religious, educational, social,

etc.). With new jobs being created in the cities, people have become geographically mobile; the consequence of which have resulted in a "missing sense of community" and different set of social relationships. For instance, Wirth (1938) noted that the increase in city size oppulation density and heterogeneity had consequences in primary relationships especially in the family and kniship system. As traditional bonds of social solidarity disapperared particularly as secondary social relationships replaced primary social relationships, the neighbourhood lost strength as a source of social organisation and control. Formal controls and formal agencies of control were substituted for bonds of sentiment, emotion or kinship. The substitution on institutional control for normative integration produced relatively high levels of loneliness, anonymity, alienation and anomie. This has contributed to various social problems such as drug abuse, crime, marital breakdown, etc.

The "Community Education Movement" in the United States is thus a response to what Toennies call a "Gesellschaft" community. Briefly, Gesellchaft typifies the modern industrial society. This concept often translated as society, is a form of social organisation in which social relationships are contractual in nature and develop on the basis of interest. Individuals are often seen to be isolated, atomised, alienated and working in competition with other people sharing the same living space. Kerensky and Melby (1975), Minzey and Le Tarte (1979) made the point that the Gesellschaft community has intensified social problems to which community education has been posing as a remedy. These social problems include poverty, racial and social unrest, increased crime rates, unemployment, lack of concern for the elderly, health problems, delinquency, etc. Totten (1970) among other proponents in the field of community education believes that community education has an ameliorative function

in the sense that it can combat the problems of Urban America.

Minzey and Olsen (1969) are convinced that a sense of community can be rekindled through community education out of common interests shared by a particular group of people. For example, they observe that

"Community attitudes will probably evolve from a small beginning, such as common interest among a few parents in the educational problems of their youngsters. It is through similar expressions of community concern, of community is extended. Mutual concerns can then be focused on larger problems through the development of this expanded community".

Decker (1972) remarks that the community school is a "unifying force of the community rather than merely a social institution in the community" (p.27). The community school provides the leadership in helping people to come together, share ideas, identify problems and indulge in community action.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION - THE NEED FOR LOCAL CONTROL AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Bureaucracy is another product of a Gesellschaft social structure. Industrialisation and urbanisation coupled with technological changes have resulted in larger organisations, institutional complexity and increasing bureaucracy. The consolidated power of large organisations tend to be centralised, impersonal and hierarchical. The control of the educational system of the United States has been incorporated in such large bureaucratic organisation.

Kerensky and Melby (1971) argue that too often the school bureaucracies are aloof, depersonalised and alienating. The bureaucracy in education have made decision-making process further away from its clientele and has been providing solutions from a centralised administrative office. Proponents of the "Community Education Movement" argue that in order to counteract the bureaucracy of the school system, there should be more community participation and involvement in decision-making process

and hence more local control.

The Community Education Advisory Councils operating in community designated schools make education more accountable. Since these councils are represented by a cross-section of the community, the community has a voice in policy matters. May (1974) lists the following functions of the Community Education Advisory Councils:-

1. To study the local school curriculum (day and evening) and to work for the changes necessary.
2. To define the educational needs of the local school community.
3. To assure that teaching materials and resources are consistent with school and community needs.
4. To assure as far as possible that the physical plant, equipment, et cetera adequately meet educational needs.
5. To participate in committees established to influence the expenditure of funds under local school control and to interpret local financial needs to the Region Board.
6. To participate in establishing disciplinary procedures governing students, including the involvement of students in the process.
7. To assure that the special needs of pupils and the community are being serviced.
8. To participate in the interviewing selection and termination of local school personnel.
9. To develop concerted community action on a specific school community problem.
10. To act as a mediator in the resolution of local school-community conflict.
11. to participate in the securing of necessary protection for the total school environment.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

It is difficult to assess the impact that the modern U.S. Community Education Movement has made on community problem-solving and community development. As it has been mentioned earlier, the intellectual leaders of the Community Education Movement have mainly been preoccupied with

a prescriptive and descriptive analysis of community education and community schooling with hardly any empirical foundation. Dowdy (1975) remarked that the lack of research in the field is due to the uncertainty in the minds of many people of what community education really is -- how it is defined, described, practised and evaluated. Shoeny and Decker (1983) noted that in October 1981, a National Community Education Impact Survey was conducted among community educators and professionals in related fields in the United States. The result of the survey indicated that community education programmes were perceived to have been most successful in improving the use of leisure time, increasing facility use and decreasing school vandalism. The survey did not measure the level of success that community education had on community development. However, the purpose of this chapter is to go beyond the rhetoric of this educational reform and to provide a critical analysis of the various assumptions (both theoretical and ideological) that underlie this educational movement.

Taylor (1984) made the point that the "Community Education Movement" in the United States is based on the "Mainstream Model" of community development proposed by Ashcroft (1975). The latter argued that this model is exclusively concerned with the problems of the materially poor (i.e. the underdogs of society). The problem of poverty in the "Mainstream Model" is interpreted as an individual or group pathology. The poor are seen to be responsible for their own conditions and poverty is interpreted as an inter-generational phenomenon. In the opinion of Ashcroft, the "Mainstream Model" of community development is concerned with changing the attitudes of the poor without the deployment of extra resources to create employment, or to promote decent housing, educational and recreational facilities as well as modifying the structure of welfare

bureaucracies in order to facilitate better access to services and goods through statutory agencies.

We can argue that the "Community Education Movement" is very much entrenched within the "Mainstream Model" of community development. It is mainly concerned with attitudinal change. What intellectual proponents of the movement seem to emphasise is the "process" aspect (i.e. how community education can engender a sense of social responsibility among members of the community, to collaborate and develop skills in community problem-solving). As Ashcroft (1975) observed, the "Mainstream Model" of community development is based on the premise that the major problems confronting the underprivileged classes are localised and that solutions to these problems are to be found in the immediate locality or neighbourhood. Community education engenders a similar approach to community problem-solving. In other words, community education tends to adopt a "blame-the-victim" approach to community problem-solving. Community education is geared toward changing members of the community - changing their skills and intellectual traits and abilities instead of raising their consciousness to challenge existing social structures outside the parameters of their own locality and neighbourhood which are mainly responsible to perpetuate social problems.

Despite the fact that the philosophy of community recognises different educational agencies in fostering the community education principles; in reality, community education has remained within the domain of the public school designated as "community schools". We could argue that community education in the United States has been what the OECD report (1975) identifies as an "evolutionary" education movement as opposed to a "revolutionary" movement. The "evolutionary" approach refers to school

based developments (i.e. the traditional school extending its role beyond the four walls of the school into the community) as opposed to the "revolutionary" approach which is more community-based, radical and aiming to restructure the educational system. Community Education in the United States is of the "evolutionary" type in the sense that it is largely school-based rather than community-based. It is concerned with modifications at the micro level of the educational structure fostering of "relevant" curriculum, community-based curriculum, community involvement in decision-making, community participation in the school. The "Community Education Movement" in North America is not aimed at or moving toward the direction of restructuring existing social institutions or bringing about radical changes in the overall education structure.

The "Community Education Movement" in the U.S.A. operates within the framework of the Liberal Ideology which conceives of social and educational reforms within the parameters of existing social order (i.e. free enterprise capitalism, democratic pluralism, equality of opportunity, etc). Community education as an educational reform emphasises a "new" equality through the idea of education being a life-long process for personal and community development. This means that equal educational opportunity is given to people of all ages and socio-economic background and incorporated all areas of education: academic, recreational, vocational, cultural and social. It furthers restoration of the democratic process by giving everybody an equal right to education, to participate in the educational process, to get involved in the local decision-making and group action; the need for community leadership, etc.

However, community education operates within existing capitalist institutions which foster class divisions and a high degree of exploitation between the "haves" and the "haves not". There are limits and

possibilities of what community education can achieve in capitalist society. For instance, community education cannot foster equality of opportunity without equality of conditions (i.e. equality of income, privilege, power, etc.). As Pike (1978-79) argues, there has been a general reassessment of the approach taken by previous policy and a rejection of the view that the educational system is or can be vehicle for social change. Since most of the factors responsible for inequality lie outside the educational system, changes must be made outside the schools. Many community problems which community education is trying to address have structural implications (i.e. maldistribution of wealth, privilege, status, power, etc). Community education operates within the present system of education which is highly credential based and academic in orientation. Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that the present system of education in the U.S.A. by and large serves the interests of the dominant group (capitalists) in society and is a major reproducer of various inequalities (income, class, occupation, status) in society.

Community educators also eschew the problem of cultural pluralism when they refer to creating a "sense of community feeling" through the process of community education. To start with, the concept of "community" is nebulous and confusing. Watson (1980) argues that any social group in an urban and industrialised society can be seen as a community when its members have a sense of community or when certain kinds of relationship exist. For this reason, there are numerous definitions of the term based on different vested interests. Taylor (1984) remarks that many neighbourhoods which constitute the service area of a public school are "communities" by name only, because they constitute a residential area or serve as a convenient political unit. He states that:-

"In reality, they often comprise highly heterogeneous sub-

groups characterized by disparate value systems, ethnic sub-cultures, and diverse socio-economically engendered life styles, all of which can give rise to highly divisive subgroup differences. For such localities, one would be extremely hard pressed to find goals, interests, needs or problems that the discordant subgroups".

CONCLUSION

The "Community Education Movement" popularised by the 1930s "Community School Movement" in Flint, Michigan gained such momentum that policy-makers and educators across the United States developed the idea and incorporated the concept in educational policy and practice as from the 1970s. The need to integrate school and community and foster school-community interaction was seen to be vital because the public school system incorporated in an aloof bureaucratic organisation was getting too distant from its clientele and the "schoolhouse" education was engrossed in book-centered knowledge, divorced from real life experiences. The public schools converted into "community schools" extended their roles and pedagogy to include community members in the learning process as well as to use community resources as part of the curriculum. Over the years, community schools have been able to provide many programs pertaining to community education such as adult education programmes, recreational programmes, health and safety programmes, etc. Community service programmes have become self-evident in community schools. However, over the past decade, the intellectual proponents of community education such as Kerensky, Melby, Van Voorhes, Minzey and Le Tarte and Seay have emphasised the process aspect of community education. The process aspect of community education requires a series of events whereby members of the community collaborate, share similar needs and interests, work on common goals, identify common problems and indulge into group action for community problem-solving.

The "process" aspect of community education requires more efforts on the part of the school to get community participation and involvement. Minzey and Le Tarte (1979) regard this stage as the most difficult part in community education. It is based on the notion of group cohesion, homogeneity and consensus among the group of people who identifies themselves as a "community". Melby (1969) believes that community education is based on the notion of "human brotherhood" and an integrated society. Through the "process" aspect of community education, community members are seemingly given a sense of control over problems that are affecting their life as well as the power to implement reforms. However, one can conclude by saying that community education's latent function is to act as a social control mechanism in the sense that it helps to curtail the subservience and revolutionary tendencies of a community afflicted by such problems of poverty, unemployment, racial discrimination, to take the appropriate actions to challenge the existing structures of the capitalist system.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, New Forms For Community Education. Virginia: American Association Of School Administrators, 1974, p.25.
2. MINZEY, J.D. "Community Education -- Another Perception". Community Education Journal. Vol.4, No.3, May-June 1974, p.7.
3. FANTINI, M.D. Community, Educational, And Social Impact Perspectives. Edited by Schoeny, B.H. and Decker, L.E. Boston: University Press Of America, 1983, p.29.
4. OLSEN, E.G. and Associates. School and Community. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1955, p.11.
5. HIEMSTRA, R. The Educative Community. Nebraska: Professional Educators Publications, 1972, p.28.
6. MINZEY, J.D. AND OLSEN, C.R. The Role Of The School In Community Education. Edited by Hickey, H.W., Van Voorhes, C.V. et al. Michigan: Pendell Publishing Company, 1969, p.52.
7. MAY, L.G. "Community Involvement: The Detroit Experience". Community Education Journal. vol.1V, No.3, May-June 1974, p.62.
8. TAYLOR, G.D. "Community Education: Agent of Social Change or Guardian of the Status Quo?". Interchange. Vol.15, No.2, 1984, p.37.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RE-EMERGENCE OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION THROUGH NONFORMAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE 1970s.

INTRODUCTION

The rediscovery of "community education" in Less Developing Countries (LDCs) in the 1970s is neither a coincidence nor a surprise. LDCs whose educational systems have been modelled on the West faced the same crisis that the West experienced in the 1960s and 1970s. Again, the LDCs turned to the metropolitan countries for solutions to the "World Education Crisis" and this time, "nonformal education" was prescribed. Nonformal education with its strong emphasis on relevant education - i.e. an education related to the needs of the rural communities, was seen to be important for community development in rural areas where people are most afflicted by the problems of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, sanitation, health and family planning.

This chapter seeks to analyse the problems that LDCs has been facing with their formal educational system and why an alternative form of education (nonformal education) was proposed by the World Bank in the 1970s. The various components of "community education" were inclusive in nonformal education programmes. Examples of nonformal education (NFE) programmes such as the Village Polytechnic (VP) idea in Kenya, the Brigade Training in Botswana, the National Adult Education Programmes (NAEP) and other NFE programmes in India will be alluded in order to show the extent community education implicit in NFE programmes have been put in operation especially in rural areas. A critical analysis on the community education aspect of NFE in the socio-economic and socio-political context of LDCs will be included in this chapter

DISENCHANTMENT WITH FORMAL EDUCATION IN LESS DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The dissatisfaction with formal education as mentioned in the previous chapter was not restricted to United States. It reflected a wider mood of disillusionment with the "schoolhouse education" in the Western industrialised nations. The majority of the LICs whose educational policies and practices and development strategies were modelled on metropolitan practices were similarly affected.

In October 1967, the worldwide disenchantment with formal schooling was debated at an international level at a conference on The World Crisis In Education. The conference of 150 educational policy-makers affirmed the general outlines of a document by Phillip Coombs, director of UNESCO International Institute Of Educational Planning and this appeared in 1968 in book form The World Educational Crisis - A Systems Analysis. Coombs concludes that the ever increasing demand for education, acute resource scarcities, rising costs, educated unemployed (unsuitability of output) and the inefficient response of educators has created a vicious circle that demands the attention of educational planners and innovators. He advocates the need for far-reaching educational innovations, one of which is the massive strengthening of nonformal education. Coombs' call for new educational strategies coincided with, perhaps even helped to initiate, a rediscovery of out-of-school education¹.

EDUCATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY IN LDCs.

Todaro (1977) remarked that LDCs were influenced by two-sector development model advocated by Arthur Lewis in the 1950s and 1960s. Briefly, Lewis's model postulates two sectors in the economy: a) a traditional, rural subsistence sector characterised by zero or very low productivity and surplus labour, b) a high productivity modern urban industrial sector

into which labour from the subsistence sector is gradually transferred. The primary focus of this model is both on the process of labour transfer and on the growth of employment in the modern sector. This model of economic development served as a blueprint for LDCs.

Bacchus (1981) points out that the LDCs' educational systems in line with Lewis two sector model of development were guided by the projected needs of the modern sector at the expense of the traditional sector where the majority of people reside. The very substantial gap, both in incomes and life chances between those who earn their living in these two sectors made it a desired goal in life for many parents to see their children secure a job in the modern sector with the industrial, commercial enterprises and government services. Bacchus adds that the only way that parents could help the social and economic mobility was to ensure that their children get a Western "academic" type of education and the necessary certificates or credentials that would enable them to enter the modern sector job market.

The rapid expansion of secondary and tertiary level of education in the 1960s went along with the pattern of economic development which LDCs envisaged. Todaro (1977) notes that since economic development in LDCs was seen in terms of the structure of production, development strategies focussed on rapid industrialisation often at the expense of agriculture and rural development. It was for this reason that investment in education especially in the secondary and tertiary levels became an important factor to produce high and middle level manpower with knowledge, skills and attitudes which would generate rapid expansion of the modern and largely urban sector and thereby accelerate the rate of economic growth.

With this kind of development in mind, Dove (1980) argues that schooling in rural areas had a role to play in the socio-economic context

of LDCs. For instance, rural schools enhanced peoples' aspirations for a better standard of living and a different quality of life. With this went the movement of subsistence into cash-crop farming, the emigration of young men to town in search of jobs in the modern sector. However, schooling in rural areas suffered several disadvantages. Dove remarks that for one thing, there were fewer of them in rural areas and they were often of poorer quality. For another, they were very often without the support of other "modernising" institutions and were ineffective on their own. In general, although they affected the lives of individuals and sometimes disrupted traditional family life and its social and economic patterns, they failed to integrate rural communities into the modern sector. They also did not contribute to the development of rural communities.

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

In the 1960s and 1970s, despite the rising levels of unemployment and underemployment in the modern sector, LDCs witnessed a massive migration of their rural population into urban areas. This was partly due to the fact that educational and employment aspirations of students including their parents were dictated by a prestige hierarchy of jobs in the modern sector. Callaway (1971) remarks that the schooling that rural children obtained encouraged them to move to urban centres because of better job prospects. They viewed education as an escape route from manual labour, rural life and farming. However, with limited number of jobs available and the competition being intense, many remained unemployed for a long time adding to the category of the educated unemployed. Besides, the rapid expansion of secondary and tertiary level of education in the 1960s and 1970s resulted in underemployment and unemployment of graduates because the educated manpower was being produced faster than the economies of these countries were able to absorb in jobs and at rates of pay

which graduates have traditionally expected.

OBSOLETE AND IRRELEVANT CURRICULUM

An important aspect of education is the relevance of what is taught in schools - an education relevant to the child's needs as he grows up in his environment and to the needs of the community. This assumption has been severely questioned in the case of LDCs because their system of education has put strong emphasis on cognitive learning and book-knowledge--literacy, numeracy, general education--and with the social reward system based in school-completion credentials. There is often a mismatch between what is learned in school and what is required outside in the world of work.

Todaro (1977) mentions a number of basic problems associated with primary education in LDCs in regards to the school curriculum. Nearly three quarters of LDCs' children live in rural areas and over 80% of them are likely to spend their working life on the land or in unskilled paid employment in country areas. However, the curriculum of the primary schools is hardly concerned with teaching skills and knowledge that are directly relevant to the rural habitat, e.g. farming, community development, hygiene and nutrition. Rather, the primary schools are usually geared towards preparation for secondary schools with literacy, languages and numeracy receiving top priority. Moreover, the education is inappropriate to the needs of the majority since about 10% of those children who enter primary school are likely to reach secondary schools. Bacchus adds that schools in LDCs are not concerned to provide children with skills to adapt and improve the standard of living in their environment. Instead they prepare students to indulge in rote learning and cram for examinations so that they can move up the educational ladder (i.e. from primary to secondary and into tertiary). He states that:-

"A major result is that the acquisition of certificates-the 'diploma disease' as Ron Dore, calls it-becomes the major goal of schooling and neither students nor parents are concerned with the practical usefulness of what is learnt. Usefulness or relevance of curriculum content is seen in terms of its value in helping students pass the examinations which give the necessary credentials for the 'right' jobs in the modern sector²".

NONFORMAL EDUCATION AND THE NEED FOR A "NEW" DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

The development ideology of the 1950s and 1960s which envisaged that the modern sector will play a leading role in economic development in LDCs did not materialise. The "GNP trickle down" concept which assumes that development in the modern sector will benefit the poorer sections of the society - mainly those in the traditional sector came under severe attack³. In the 1970s, the economic and social conditions of the masses remained unchanged. The reason was that the benefits from economic growth were not spread throughout the economy.

Coombs et al. (1973) argue that in retrospect, national development in LDCs has been decidedly lopsided--as witnessed by the perpetuation and even the worsening of mass poverty in many rural areas by the widening economic and social disparities between urban and rural population and by the gap between rural employment opportunities and the burgeoning rural youth population. Despite two decades of valiant efforts to expand formal schooling in the great bulk of rural areas, only a fraction of boys and especially girls were getting a well and effective primary schooling. And of these only a small minority have an opportunity to follow up their primary schooling in any systematic way. The unschooled and the early drop-outs which often comprised the great majority were left largely to fend for themselves.

EMPHASIS ON NONFORMAL EDUCATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The search for educational alternatives in LDCs arose from the concerns

mentioned above. Coombs (1976) makes the point that a new interest developed in the area of nonformal education in the 1970s. According to him, this interest was sparked not by educators, but by general policy-makers and development analysts who became increasingly concerned by the deepening crisis in formal education and the need to find stronger educational means to adapt to rural communities' needs and for attacking staggering rural problems relating to food, population, health, rural unemployment and poverty. Nonformal education was seen to be better suited to offer more flexibility in imparting skills and knowledge, that is characterised by greater responsiveness in adjusting to changing needs and demands by rural communities and hopefully providing a more equitable distribution of educational opportunity.

In the 1970s, the "new" development strategy for LDCs was the provision of education for the masses. According to the World Bank (1974), education and training systems have to be designed in order to enable the masses that have been unaffected by the growth of the modern sector to participate in the development process as more productive workers--by being able to play their roles effectively as citizens, family members, leaders and members of groups involved in cooperative community actions. The "new" development strategy emphasised meeting the basic needs of the poor through the deployment of minimum resources to meet the communities' "minimum essential learning needs". Nonformal education was seen as a supplement, not as a rival to formal education system and was intended to provide a functional, flexible low-cost education for those whom the formal system of education could not yet reach or has already passed by.

CONCEPT OF NONFORMAL EDUCATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

The idea of nonformal education is not new in developing countries.

Grandstaff (1978) remarks that it is estimated that roughly half of the present educational effort in the developing countries is in the nonformal sector. Many private organisations, missionaries and government of LDCs have for many years fostered nonformal educational programmes to improve standards of living among the rural poor. But the programmes have been small in scope and often experimental in character. However, nonformal education became official World Bank's policy for LDCs after McNamara became its president.

Nonformal education received considerable recognition after Coombs and his colleagues conducted a study for the World Bank in 1971. The study New Paths To Learning For Rural Children And Youth was commissioned the United Nations Children's Organisation and carried out by the International Council For Educational Development and its scope was confined to out-of-school children and youth in rural areas. This study was followed by Attacking Rural Poverty - How Nonformal Education Can Help published in 1974 focussing on programmes for increasing employment, productivity, knowledge and skills related to the rural environment for particular groups of people such as farmers, rural artisans, craft workers and small entrepreneurs.

From those two significant publications on the subject on nonformal education, Coombs et al. arrive at a definition of nonformal education as follows:-

"We defined nonformal education as any organized educational activity outside the established formal system - whether operating separately or as important feature of some broader activity - that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives". (1973:11).

Among some of the examples of nonformal education applicable to children and youth are: pre-school, day-care centres and nurseries, school equivalency programmes to provide "second chance" for those who are

missing schooling or drop out of school early, adolescent and adult literacy classes, school based extracurricular activities such as boy and girl scouts, young farmers' clubs, sports and recreational groups, occupational training for adolescents in agriculture and construction carried on outside the formal school structure. Coombs and Ahmed (1974) include agricultural extension, farmer training programmes and various community programmes of instruction in health, nutrition, family planning, cooperatives and the like.

Coombs (1976) explain that the ICED studies adopt a much broader concept of education which equates education with learning instead of schooling per se. He argues that nonformal education is not as some people assume, a separate system of education in the same sense that formal education is a system with its own distinct structure, interlocking parts and internal coherence. On the contrary, nonformal education is simply a convenient label covering a bewildering assortment of organised educational activities outside the formal system that are intended to serve identifiable learning needs of particular subgroups in a given population --be they children, youths, adults, males or females, merchants or craftsmen. Nonformal education embraces the idea that education is a life-long process-a system that provides every individual with a flexible and diversified range of useful learning options throughout his or her lifetime. The 1973 ICED report makes the observation that there can be no single universal pattern of nonformal education. Each country must make its own decisions, choices of strategy and plans of action and its own educational models.

NONFORMAL EDUCATION - COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT EDUCATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

One important element in nonformal education in LDCs is community

development. Nonformal education takes into account the learning needs of all members of the community who have passed the school age. Its chief goal is to ensure the participation of its recipients in determining the nature and content of the educational programmes which tend to focus on the needs and priorities of the communities involved⁵. Nonformal education programmes are directed to improve the standards of living in rural communities (i.e. improve health, sanitation, food production, hygiene, etc.). NFE relates education to the environment, the world of work and the life of the people within a particular community.

Coombs and Ahmed (1974) suggest that despite the fact that the educational needs for rural communities are numerous and diverse, there are certain elements that need to be taken into account and they are follows:-

1. GENERAL OR BASIC EDUCATION: literary, numeracy, an elementary understanding of science and one's environment, etc.-what primary and secondary schools seek to achieve.
2. FAMILY IMPROVEMENT EDUCATION: designed primarily to impart knowledge, skills and attitudes, useful in improving the quality of family life, on such subjects as health and nutrition, homemaking and child care, home repairs and improvements, family planning, and so on.
3. COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT EDUCATION: designed to strengthen local and national institutions and processes through instruction in such matters as local and national government, cooperatives, community projects, and the like.
4. OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION: designed to develop particular knowledge and skills associated with various economic activities and useful in making a living.

Similarly La Belle (1976) argues that NFE should be community-oriented in the sense that it should be a process of linking man and his environment. For instance, he points out that NFE programmes should be geared to enhance community's skills, knowledge and attitudes towards improving the quality of life in rural areas. This involves community involvement and action. The community education aspect of NFE includes adult literacy

programmes, basic education and consciousness-raising programmes, radio schools as well as agricultural, health programmes and cooperatives.

La Belle does not dismiss the school in the implementation of NFE. He asserts that the school can transform itself as a community centre and provides the leadership or act as a coordinating agency for the community based NFE programmes.

NONFORMAL EDUCATION, THE PROCESS MODEL AND THE SELF-HELP APPROACH TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The community education aspect of nonformal education is further spelled out in a conference and workshop on Nonformal Education And The Rural Poor (1976) organised at the Michigan State University under the direction of Richard Niehoff. The conference focussed on the theme of NFE as a method of involving rural people in developmental processes designed to help them improve their economic and social well-being. In relating NFE to the concept of development, the following definition was provided:-

"Nonformal education is defined for our purpose as the methods of assessing the needs and interests of adults and out-of-school youths in developing countries--of communicating with them, motivating them to participate, helping them to acquire necessary skills, to adopt behavioural patterns and related patterns and activities which will increase their productivity and improve their living standards".

This definition identifies nonformal education as an educational process helping community members to identify common problems and needs which are affecting their lives, involve them in decision-making process and develop skills to solve these problems. Hence NFE is not seen as programs but as a process. Within this framework, NFE is seen as a process of community problem-solving and community improvement. However, Niehoff makes the point that this process may take varying amount of time and

utilise various techniques from holding "camps" for villagers to discuss needs, the use of "consciousness raising" techniques, agronomic surveys or more established "baseline needs".

Coombs and Ahmed (1974) note that NFE in LDCs can operate through what they call the self-help approach to rural community development. The self-help approach deals with a broad educational process which involves or can involve outside expertise and assistance in helping to alter attitudes, raise aspirations and self-confidence and encourage individual and community initiatives for self-improvement. The importance of modern expertise and other form of assistance coming from outside must be directed in such a way as to be an "enabling process" to help people deal with the local aspects affecting their lives. The self-help approach encourages community participation and cooperation as well as community action. They argue that there are no fixed pedagogical models, dogmas or techniques in the self-help approach except the principles that learning comes from action and that development itself is educational and that villagers learn best from teachers with same background.

Dove (1980) makes an interesting observation as far as community participation and the self-help approach are concerned on the basis of the following quote from a UNICEF document:-

"What is the essence of the true community participation? The idea is simple enough. It starts with local people in a community who know each other and who know from personal experience what their own community needs. They choose amongst themselves persons they think will be able to help them learn how to grow more food, to prevent sickness, or teach them other ways of improving their community...Experience has revealed that this community participation works well while the introduction of local level programmes by those outside "experts" who do not understand or appreciate local needs, traditions and preferences does not work".

Dove argues that community participation in the identification of its own needs and in the planning and implementation of plans to meet them is thought to go a long way towards ensuring local relevance, commitment and the betterment of the community. However, national policies for rural development as expressed "from above" have the potential to conflict with community's needs.

This section attempts to give some examples of community education for rural development implemented under the auspices of NFE in the LDCs especially in Africa and India.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THROUGH NONFORMAL EDUCATION IN RURAL AFRICA

Sheffield (1969) observes that from the late 1950s and right up to the mid 1960s, rural education in Africa was pushed into the background as the need for high-level manpower was the major determinant of educational development in the modern sector. However, by the mid 1960s, the educational system oriented towards this goal was seen to be ill-suited and dysfunctional to the needs of the majority of the population. Concern that educational development was outpacing economic opportunities became widespread after Archibald Callaway's pioneering studies on unemployment among primary school leavers in Nigeria (1963). Following the 1966 International Conference at Kericho, Kenya, it was recognised that rural education should be transformed and the curricula should relate more closely to the needs of the rural community. Nonformal education programmes or what Coombs (1968) calls the "shadow system" began to emerge in Africa in order to complement the formal system by meeting the needs which it was not covering.

Two case studies (the Village Polytechnic in Kenya and the Brigade Training in Botswana) will be used subsequently in order to illustrate

the implementation of nonformal education in the context of rural community education in Africa.

VILLAGE POLYTECHNIC IN KENYA

The Village Polytechnic concept which will be referred here as VP, was endorsed at the Kericho Conference in 1966. In broad terms, VPs are low-cost primary training centres for unemployed and school leavers in rural areas. Court (1974) observes that the VP was part of the response to two familiar and pervasive features of the Kenya scene: The situation in which approximately 100,000 pupils leave Primary School each year with no prospect of regular wage employment in the modern sector of the economy and the frequent assertion that community self-help can ameliorate this situation. The VP idea developed within the framework of Harambee ("Let's all pull together" for the welfare of the community) and the idea of relevant education. Duggan (1969) remarks that the primary goal of the VP in Kenya was to give unemployed school leavers a sense of purpose and role in their community as well as the satisfaction of having a skill which will support them. The longer term goal of the VP was to turn members of the community into self-reliant and self-sufficient people, to raise the standards of living in rural areas and to make farming a productive activity.

The first VP was undertaken as part of a community development project in Mwea Plains near Embu. At time of the project, the community at Mwea Plains was afflicted by the problem of malnutrition, poor agricultural and farming planning as well as youth and adult unemployment and migration to towns. The planning of the polytechnic was to provide a center whereby the community resources could be mobilised in order to alleviate the problems that were affecting the community.

Duggan (1969) remarks that during the initial planning of the VP,

the community members were hardly consulted as to how the polytechnic could be of real service to the community. The community was only consulted after the "experts" have already devised their programs. They met with the Mwean chiefs and subchiefs over weekly meeting to discuss all aspects of the local area from farmers' problems to crop failure and the increase of crime among young people. Parents' meetings were also set up in regards to the programs of the polytechnic. The reactions from the community chiefs and subchiefs were over the concern of the long term goals of the educational programs of the polytechnic (i.e. how this school can be of an integral part in the community, how the polytechnic's programs can foster a sense of community in the village, develop skills among the unemployed members of the community, change the community's attitudes and skills in regards to agriculture, farming, etc.).

Despite some of the administrative difficulties encountered with the setting-up of the VP and especially the parents' objections, the first VP achieved some degree of success in integrating the school and the community. For instance, a poultry scheme was designed in the hope that the community could improve their diet in a situation where one-crop farming scheme has been superimposed by the government. Formerly, chickens were only eaten on important occasions, partly because of the price and scarcity and partly because local ones died easily. Poultry schemes were set up in different villages and a cooperative was formed to sell eggs which were formerly bought at a high price in Nairobi.

A building construction programmes was also established for the youth and adult unemployed members of the community so that they could be held responsible to put up buildings in their own community. The community's knowledge resources were used in this programme. Students

worked in cooperation with other members of the community who already had the knowledge in the field and the various aspects of the local environment. Instruction classes were held in furniture-making, as a result of which students were able to make furniture for people in the community which went a long way towards establishing prestige for the polytechnic as well as affording a local, low-price shop when before people had journeyed twenty miles to buy chairs, beds and tables. Duggan observes that the carpentry and construction programmes advanced to such a point that the students were getting more contracts than they could handle. The staff of the VP also operated outwards into the villages running adult literacy classes, assisting with youth centres, ante-natal clinics, health and nutrition classes. The VP wn Mwea was successful in working in the rural community as well as bringing the community to it.

Following the initial pioneering work of the National Christian Council of Kenya on the establishment of VP, the Kenyan government became the major partner and central financing agent as the number of polytechnics increased. This has been reflected in a recent reorganisation of the central committee. The challenge of balancing central control and local autonomy is being met by use of the central committee on which all VPs are represented. Despite the fact that all VPs differ in their activities and training organisation, they are however, based on the same principle.

YOUTH TRAINING PROGRAMMES IN AFRICA: BRIGADE TRAINING IN BOTSWANA

Besides the Kenyan VP idea, many youth training programmes emerged in commonwealth countries of Africa in order to accommodate the idea of rural community development. Wood (1974) makes the point that various experimental programmes have been set up in Africa designed to complement the formal primary school by providing programmes of out-of-school educa-

tion or nonformal education and training for young people mainly primary school leavers so that they could be of benefit to their own communities in terms of learning skills applicable to the work situation of their own communities and the notion of self-help, self-reliance and the idea of community development.

It is beyond the scope of this study to look into details in the various approaches of youth training programmes in all African countries involved. However, this study will concentrate on the Brigade Training approach in Botswana especially in its community development aspect.

ORIGIN OF BRIGADE TRAINING IN BOTSWANA

The origin of the "Brigade Movement" in Botswana lies in an experiment carried out in the town Serowe where the first secondary school (Swaneng Hill School) was built and opened in February 1963 by Van Rensberg. Van Rensberg (1974) stated that the idea of Swaneng Hill school was to make this school a focal point for development in the community. The school was operated with limited resources and became dependent on the volunteer of students. Students were involved in helping to build classrooms and sports field. The school developed a "relevant curriculum" (i.e. a curriculum related to the community needs). Swaneng's Hill school curriculum was diversified including subjects such as metal work, woodwork, building science, technical drawing, commercial subjects, arts and crafts and agricultural science. Students' training was geared towards developing a sense of community responsibility and developing skills in trade and work related to the community's needs.

In 1965, a large number of primary school leavers turned to Swaneng Hill school which found it impossible to accommodate all of them. There were no funds and resources to educate or employ the large number

of young people. This problem was taken to the chief of the tribe who provided Rensberg with land. Sheffield and Diejomoah (1972) make the point that the schoolleavers were on-the-job apprenticeship training which called "Builders' Brigade" - a name taken from Ghana's Builders Brigade founded by Nkrumah in the late 1950. The name was chosen to emphasise that it was not a school training center offering the traditional school contents. Since then, the "Brigade Training" concept was developed as part of nonformal education in different parts of Botswana. By 1971, there developed 12 Brigade Centres. With the creation of National Brigade Coordinating Committee (NBCC), the Ministry of Education has assumed an overall responsibility of Brigade Movement on Brigade policy and Brigade problems.

Wood (1974) remarks that Brigade Training in Botswana was related to three main areas: a) low-level training particularly training for the construction industry together with the organisation of cooperatives; b) training in local crafts together with the organisation of cooperatives; c) training and settlement of young men as farmers. The Brigade Program embraced about twenty different skills. For example: building, carpentry, welding, bricklaying, electrical trade, dress-making, farming, handicrafts, mechanics, textile tanning, etc.

The Builders' Brigade provided training for building construction by training brick layers, stone masons and carpenters. Contracts from public or semi-public authorities were taken up by the manager of the Brigade who with the help of the trainees in Advanced Building course and a volunteer or part-time architect laid out the plans and check the construction site before starting construction work which was done under the supervision of the instructor/supervisor of the Brigade. Most of the work done by the Brigade Builders was the building of new primary

schools, other brigade dormitories, cooperative buildings, private homes and hotels. The original Brigade Training formula confined itself to the construction industry. There were, however, been attempts at different Brigade Centres to develop small craft industries using locally produced raw materials such as angora wool and cotton. Textiles activities included the manufacture of low-cost clothing for the local market and the emphasis in this case was on the provision of training and employment for girls.

The Farmers' Brigade was developed in order to make farming and agriculture a more productive activity in the community. Students were given training in diverse farming operations including the production of beef, pig, goats, dairy products, vegetables and other crops of high value. Farmers' Brigade also incorporated Cooperative Settlements training was divided between the Central Brigade Farm where trainees learned farming and agricultural skills and the trainees' settlement farm where they used the acquired skills. After training, Brigade graduates settled down in the "Settlement Farm" for cooperative farming. Rensberg (1974) noted that a little modification was made in the system by having a settlement farm in the village involving families as well. This approach provided a close link with local communities.

ATTEMPTS AT NONFORMAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

In the late 1960s and 1970s, India also adopted the policy of non-formal education as part of its development strategy for community rural development. Most of the NFE programmes were funded by the Central Government and implemented in partnership with state governments, voluntary agencies and educational and social welfare institutes. NFE programmes were mainly targeted on the problems of rural areas in particular, the

"drop-outs", "push-outs" and "left-outs" of society - the unschooled, children of school age, adolescents and youth and the adult illiterates.

Community education was an important element in nonformal education in India. NFE focussed on the various learning needs of the environment in an efficient way in order to improve the community standards of living. For instance, several projects were launched in rural areas on the topic of Functional Literacy in the 1970s. The Functional Literacy For Adult Women projects were undertaken in many Indian villages under the auspices of NFE. The aim of these projects was to teach women elements of health and hygiene, food and nutrition, home management, child care, vocational and occupational training. Adult women were seen as important members of the community whose attitudes and skills could be altered through the use of NFE so that they could be equipped to participate in the developmental efforts of the community. The idea of functional literacy among the community was also enhanced among the members of the farming community. Projects were undertaken under the rubric of Farmers' Training And Functional Literacy Program starting in the late 1960s. The aim of these projects was to teach farmers new agricultural practices and techniques so that they could become more productive and contribute to the wealth of the whole community. NFE programmes in India were also concerned with the standard of health and sanitation in rural communities. In 1977, The Rural Health Scheme: Training Of Community Health Workers strived to train people from rural communities into community health work so that they could disseminate their knowledge and skills into their own communities as far as community preventive and promotive health are concerned. The community workers were expected to educate the community in maternal and child health, nutrition, population education and to deal with ailments peculiar to the communities in which they work.

Recently, the government of India issued a policy statement on Adult Education in India and the program known as the National Adult Education Programme (NAEP) was launched in 1978. The NAEP aims at the extension of educational facilities to the entire population of approximately a hundred million illiterates with special attention to the 15-35 age group. It has given itself about five years to do this, beginning from April 1979. Since the incidence of illiteracy and social disability being much higher among women and persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, they were to be given priority in the organisation of NAEP.

In emphasising the correlation between working, living and learning, the NAEP has borrowed heavily from Gandhi's ideas on basic education discussed in chapter three. In its methods, the NAEP has incorporated the essential features of NFE particularly in emphasising the importance of its relevance to the environment and the learners' needs, flexibility regarding duration, time, location, institutional arrangements, etc., diversity of curriculum, teaching and learning materials. The conceptual framework of the NAEP has been centered on three areas:-

- Literacy and numeracy, at a level which would enable learners to continue to learn in a self-reliant manner.
- Functional development, functionality being viewed as the role of an individual as a producer and worker, as a member of the family and as a citizen in the civic and political system.
- Social awareness, including an awareness of the impediments to development, of laws and government policies, and the need for the poor and illiterate to organize themselves in pursuance of their legitimate interests and for group action.

The NAEP is part of the community education philosophy as advanced in the West. It is an attempt to make education a lifelong process instead of a terminal activity with schooling. The NAEP's aim is to reach members of the community untouched by formal education. This

includes the economically and socially deprived section of the Indian community who lacks basic skills. The prime objective of the NAEP is to help adult members of the community to raise their functional capabilities in their own communities. Bordia (1980) remarks that the NAEP projects are geared towards an educational process which involves community's awareness of its own needs and problems and community's cooperation to solve these problems through collective efforts.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON NONFORMAL EDUCATION

Over the past two decades, educational policy-makers have focussed the attention on nonformal education as an alternative to formal education in LDCs. Ahmed (1983) remarks that LDCs have been receptive to the organisational and pedagogical methods of nonformal education which include such features as non-professional instructional personnel, use of distance media, community involvement in the management of community schools, acceptance of community service and productive work as part of the school programme, greater efforts to relate curricula and instructional content to local environment and conditions and recognition to the need for partnership between schools and community, family, religious groups and economic enterprises. The degree of effectiveness of application and implementation of the NFE concept has shown a great variation among educational programmes in LDCs.

The implementation of NFE in LDCs has several advantages. Bhola (1983) suggests that there is a sense of distributive justice in the promotion of NFE in the sense that it is designed to meet the "minimum essential learning needs" of particular target group of those who have been formally deprived of an education. He notes that, however, there is no guarantee that NFE will indeed reach the poorest of the poor, the disadvantaged and

the forgotten despite its intention. Since NFE is not based on credentials and competition to climb the educational ladder, its reward pattern is seen to be more persuasive and relevant to the learners than formal schooling. Bhola remarks that most NFE programmes display a close linkage between learning and immediate activity (e.g. Brigade Training in Botswana), avoiding the frustrating deferral of reward. Bacchus (1979) makes a similar point by stating that NFE is seen as more immediately productive since the learners acquire knowledge and skills which can be directly put into practice, thus reducing the long gestation period which exists between formal education and production. NFE is also considered as a more relevant education - relevant to the needs of the community in terms of the standards of living, occupation and trades.

NFE is accepted by LDCs on economic and pragmatic grounds. Many developing countries have realised that they cannot afford to escalate their expenditure on education and even the provision of universal primary education which was not immediately achievable for some countries. Since NFE was a low-cost educational expedient, it did not demand many professionals, equipments, facilities as formal schooling does. NFE programmes were mostly community-based relying on community's resources and facilities. Ahmed (1983) remarked that the school could transform itself as a community centre where nonformal education could operate. This included adult literacy programmes, health and nutrition education, agriculture extension programmes, training in useful skills and discussion on political and civic matters. Bhola (1983) noted that NFE had the potential to show better economic returns than formal education. On the other hand, it was seen as a salvaging operation to enable school-leavers and drop-outs from the formal school system to enter the economy as productive

individuals. On the other hand, it was seen as a mechanism for improving the productivity of farmers and for upgrading the skills of various occupational groups in rural communities. NFE was also seen as making contribution to overall community growth and rural development by disseminating knowledge of health practices, nutrition, family planning and family life improvement.

Despite the potential that NFE programmes was likely to exhibit in the area of rural development, it was criticised as being a "second-rate" education. NFE programmes operated within a dualistic system of education in most LDCs. Simkins (1978) remarked that the planning of NFE in LDCs took place within the existing educational structure dominated by formal schooling. Formal school system continued to coexist with non-formal education and the former provided social incentives in providing the qualifications through which individuals could achieve upward social mobility and into the elite positions in society. Nonformal education programmes were mainly targeted at the poorer sections of the population helping them to adapt to rural conditions of life and temper their aspirations towards climbing the social ladder. The establishment of a dual system of education runs directly counter to the aim of achieving equality of educational and social opportunity as Colclough (1976) remarked:-

"Such a policy is likely to legitimize existing social and class differences and to institutionalise inequalities... Furthermore the issue of implicit discrimination in educational opportunities facing urban and rural, or rich and poor families has been the main reason for the future, historically, of attempts to set up dual systems of education. There is every reason to suppose that new attempts along these lines would also fail as a result of similar pressures".

Bacchus (1979) pointed out that the financial benefits stemmed from formal schooling system were and would continue to be considerably higher than those with NFE. This is partly due to the dualistic structure of the

economic system of LDCs which showed great disparity of income between those earning their living in these two sectors. One of the problems with the Brigade Training in Botswana was that the Brigades had to compete with the modern sector of the economy. The high wages and the consumption levels in towns have acted as a "pull" effect for the Brigades to migrate to towns for more lucrative jobs which the rural sector did not offer. To motivate the masses to accept nonformal education, the income gaps between the modern and the traditional sector jobs must be reduced. This, as Bacchus maintained, was possible if the reward system of society was radically changed to enable those in the traditional sector to earn a reasonable income as compared with those acquiring a formal education and working in the modern sector. Bacchus's main argument was that "unless there is massive structural transformation in the reward system of the developing societies, nonformal education will not be fully accepted by the general populace" (p.11).

Nonformal education programmes in most LDCs operated within the capitalistic social structure modelled on the industrialised nations of the West. The chief aim of the educational system within a capitalistic social structure is to sort and select talented individuals to attain the highest status positions and to teach them the kind of cognitive skills and norms essential for the performance of most roles increasingly dependent upon science and technical expertise. Since this system of education was highly elitist and served as an instrument for elite domination as Bowles and Gintis (1976) maintained, NFE which was mainly targeted at the working class provided a legitimised way of perpetuating the class divisions in capitalism. Ahmed (1983) remarked that the introduction of such reforms as nonformal education only helped to strengthen the social status quo by softening the conflicts and contradictions of the existing social

quo by softening the conflicts and contradictions of the existing social structure. Bhola (1983) observed that NFE operated on a consensus model assuming solidarity between the masses and the state. From these remarks, we can conclude that NFE was basically a conservative expedient--it was not designed to raise peoples's consciousness to challenge the existing social structures which were mainly responsible for the problems of poverty.

NFE with its strong emphasis on community education prescribed by the West faced the same idiosyncracies as North America despite the fact the emphasis in LDCs was on rural development. NFE was based on the "Mainstream Model" of community development previously discussed in chapter four. To remind ourselves, the "mainstream model" of community development was based on the premise that the major problems confronting the underprivileged classes were localised and that solutions to these problems were to be found in the immediate locality. NFE programmes were thus geared towards changing community's attitudes, skills and intellectual traits and abilities instead of raising their consciousness to challenge the wider social structures which were mainly responsible to foster the problems of poverty, unemployment, maldistribution of wealth, power and knowledge.

CONCLUSION

From the arguments proposed in this chapter, one can conclude by stating that nonformal education with its emphasis on community education and community development is a social control mechanism. NFE programmes were mainly targeted at the poorest sections of the population living in rural areas (i.e. in the traditional low-wage sector of the economy). Since NFE was based on the self-help approach and the idea of the "community pulling itself by its own bootstrap", it tended to lead rural people to believe that they were to be blamed for their own misfortunes

(i.e. poor nutrition, health, lack of education, occupational skills and other life improvement skills, etc.) and that they had to work together and helped themselves by pulling on their strength and resources to embetter their situation. This approach to community development tended to masquerade the reality by localising social problems. It led the masses in a state of "false consciousness" (i.e. unable to relate social problems in a holistic way). Henceforth, NFE operated on the special interests of the elites who acted as the safeguard of the status quo.

NFE would only succeed unless there was structural transformation within the socio-economic and socio-political context of the LDCs. As Bacchus (1981) argued, one must start with radical changes in the existing social and economic system aiming to reduce the relative massive income gap, especially between those in the modern and the traditional sectors of society. In addition to this, the school curriculum should show a closer link between the type of education which students received and the knowledge, skills and orientation required for the overall development of the country.

The next chapter will remain on the theme of nonformal education and community education in the context of some LDCs that have undergone structural transformations.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER SIX

COMMUNITY EDUCATION WITHIN THE STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY - THE CASE OF CHINA AND TANZANIA

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, an examination was made of a "new" development in the field of "community education" in India and Africa. Community education operated under the guise of nonformal educational programmes was geared toward rural community development. These programmes were targeted at a particular section of the population (e.g. the illiterate adult members of the community, the rural unemployed youth, women, etc.).

This chapter will look at a different approach to community education adopted by other LDCs such as China and Tanzania in their efforts to adopt an educational strategy (i.e. education for rural community development) accompanied by certain political, economic, social changes which were aimed at a socialist transformation of society. It will be argued that the Chinese and Tanzanian educational systems were revolutionised in order to provide an education relevant to community's needs for the majority. Attempts were also made to narrow the gap between the traditional and the modern sector of the economy as well as between mental and manual labour.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND THE SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY IN CHINA

CHINA PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION

When the Communist Party took control of mainland China in 1949, the Chinese economy was both feudal and capitalist. Remnants of feudalism were still present despite the fact that the political, social and educational and economic structures of feudalism were abolished several decades ago. China's economy in 1949 consisted of individual, peasant agriculture

together with a mixture of state, foreign and Chinese privately-owned industry and commerce¹. Over 85% of the population was engaged in farming, and about 70% of the land under cultivation was owned by landlords, though they constituted only 10% of the population. The peasants were usually either rentiers or hired labourers on the landlords' farms. On the other hand, most of the large industries that grew up along the coast were under foreign control, while small factories were in the hands of the bourgeoisie².

The education system that the Communist Party inherited in 1949 was elitist and organised along the American pattern, with six years of primary school, three years of junior high school, three years of senior high school and three to five years of university, depending on the subjects³. Education was highly selective and dominated by passive book-learning and examinations. Education was in the hands of the privileged few and was an instrument for elite domination and the perpetuation of the dominant class. Only children of the bureaucrats, landlords, rich peasants and capitalists had the privilege to go to school. Living in extreme poverty, children of workers and peasants were deprived the right to schooling⁴. The working people or peasants who comprise the majority of the population were denied access to schools. More than 80% of the population in China was illiterate. Educational facilities were mostly located along the coast or in the major urban centres, and many rural regions simply had no educational facilities, a pattern which resulted in a great disparity of educational opportunities⁵.

MAO ZEDONG AND THE SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION OF CHINA

Mao Zedong (the Chairman of the Communist Party) realised that the key to the success of the socialist revolution in China was the masses of

peasants and that a "mass-line" approach to development was to be adopted to the reconstruction of the Chinese society. Mao's commitment was to a type of development that would promote co-operative relations, bring the masses into decision-making about their daily lives and thus unleash the creativity and resourcefulness at the local level so necessary to build a new China⁶.

As part of this revolutionary strategy, Mao was concerned about transforming the ideological outlook of the masses and the need to develop the class consciousness of the peasants through intensive propaganda in the villages. For instance, in 1951, the People's Political Consultative Conference National Committee under the chairmanship of Mao, launched the movement for ideological reform and propagated the study of Marxism-Leninism combined with the teachings of Mao. This kind of revolutionary political study movement was carried out for two years. Its main aims were to educate the people of China, raise their political consciousness and patriotism⁷.

LAND REFORM

Land redistribution was quickly affected as Mao's understanding of the importance of the peasants to the revolutionary movement developed:-

"We must lead the peasants' struggle for land and distribute the land to them, heighten their labour enthusiasm and increase agricultural production, safeguard the interests of the workers establish co-operatives, develop trade with outside areas, and solve the problems facing the masses-food, shelter and clothing, fuel, rice, cooking oil and salt, sickness and hygiene and marriage. In short, all the practical problems in the masses' everyday life should claim our attention. If we attend to these problems, solve them and satisfy the needs of the masses, we shall really become organizers of the well-being of the masses, and they will truly rally round us and give us their warm support. Comrades, will we arouse them to take part in the evolutionary war? Yes, indeed we will⁸".

The Land Reform Act was promulgated on June 30th, 1950. The purpose of the reform was to abolish the ownership of land by landlords. It was to replace the feudalistic exploitation system by one of land ownership for the peasants in order to encourage productive energy in the village, to increase agricultural productivity, and to pave the way for the industrialisation of China. Initially, the property of the wealthy landowners was distributed among peasants, giving each peasant an average of about 15 mou (about 2.3 acres) of arable land, and every two peasants shared a draft animal and plow. By 1956, control and management of much of the land had been transferred from mutual aid teams to cooperatives, later to communes up to 4,000 households⁹.

THE CHINESE COMMUNE SYSTEM

Land reform was accompanied by a change of social organisation in the economic production of the Chinese villages. Prior to 1949, the Chinese villages were controlled by a strict hierarchy with the landlords presiding leadership group. Thus, the power of the traditional rural elite was immense. It was this power that the communists sought to break with land reform and the establishment of the commune system as a collective unit of production.

The directive from the Central Committee of the Communist Party to establish the communes came in August 1958. The commune represented the attempt to break down the isolation of the village and to integrate production with administration, as well as with welfare, education and defence. The communes were collectively owned by their members. They were part of an overall strategy to create a new type of society, and they were linked to each other and to the urban areas through administrative and economic channels. The approximately 80% who live in communes were responsible to feed and house themselves and provide food for the rest

of the population, as well as producing raw materials for industry. The aim was for each commune to be as self-sufficient as possible and the creation of a more diversified economy within the commune contributes to this. Surplus staple produce from the commune was sold to the State, and the majority of any profits from commune-run enterprises were ploughed back for the expansion of production¹⁰. The communes were seen as a microcosm of China's transformed rural society. By the end of 1958, nurseries and kindergartens were established in rural communes in order to ensure that the children receive the proper "socialist" education at an early age. Many were attached to workplaces, thus allowing mothers to bring babies to work and leave them with trained personnel to take care of them for the day.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN SOCIALIST CHINA AND THE MOVE TOWARDS COMMUNITY ORIENTED EDUCATION

Educational reforms played an important part in the reconstruction of China. Mao's preoccupation with educational reform stems from his apparent conviction that traditional education has been the prime device by which the ruling class perpetuated itself in China. In October 1951, the government issued the Decisions Concerning The Reform Of The Educational System and thereby set up the system of education for the People's Republic of China. This brought about a fundamental reform of the old educational system of China. It demonstrated the fact that education had to be taken from the hands of feudal landlords, bureaucratic capitalists and imperialists and put into the hands of the people of China, led by the proletariat and that it must be used as an instrument for the advance of all people¹¹. In order to equalise the educational opportunities, Mao launched mass literacy education campaigns in order to benefit the peasants who have been deprived of an education. Coupled with this, came the

language reform programme. The aim of this programme was to simplify the Chinese language and unify the spoken language in order to promote universal literacy.

INTEGRATION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY LEARNING

The earliest attempts to integrate school and community learning arose in China out of sheer necessity when the Chinese Communists were fighting the Japanese from their Yen-an base area in North Central China¹². During that period, work-study education was the only possible educational pattern in Yen-an because it was impossible for the Chinese in this liberated and backward area to send their children (even one child) to school and forego income from their labour. Education was extended to all members of the community in the Yen-an Period and this included literacy groups, newspaper reading groups and adult education groups of various kinds - including "spare time" schools which could be set up at any places and at any time as well as could have any number of students attending¹³. In the regular schools, reduced classroom time was ordered by the directives, providing more opportunity for productive labour and on-the-job training. It was necessary to educate all the people for struggle of independence and the whole area was transformed like a big school, where all young and old were involved in teaching and learning. From primary through university, education was integrated with work, where students and teachers working side by side making their own school material from available resources and working in factory and farms supported their school.

This educational strategy continued in some areas after the Communist government came to power but received a slight set back with the adoption of the Soviet heavy-industry development model¹⁴. However, the ideas of community education - relating education to the needs of the community, making education relevant to the world of work by providing functional

skills to increase productivity and enhance the welfare of the community, were revived during the Great Leap Forward.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND THE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES OF THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD (1958-1960)

The educational policies of the Great Leap Forward (GLF) in 1958 represented the first systematic attempt to reorganise China's formal educational system since the 1949 seizure of political power. Embodied in a joint directive on education issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the State Council and appearing in the People's Daily on September 19, 1958, the following statement announced a policy change:-

"One of the great historical tasks now confronting the whole party and people is to train tens of millions of red and expert intellectuals of the working class by giving correct leadership in educational work, but firmly adhering to the party line in educational development. (p.12).

According to Mao, the restructuring of the educational system was entrusted with the task of producing a generation of "red and expert" intellectuals committed to the welfare of the working class and who would identify with the proletariat. The first attribute of these working class intellectuals, "redness" referred to their Communist ideological position. They were to be authentic communists, ready to devote themselves to socialist reconstruction and to contribute wherever and whenever their presence was acquired. Expertise, on the other hand, referred to the knowledge and skills possessed by this new breed of intellectuals.--abilities evaluated ultimately in relation to their contribution to the socialist economy.

Some of the educational experiments tried during the Yen'an Period especially the policy of integrating work with study and making education relevant to the needs of the community were revived on a national

level during the GLF. Attempts were made to merge formal and nonformal education and to extend the learning opportunities to all members of the community. The first step in this direction was to expand educational facilities especially in rural areas and to promote schools run by the state and schools run by factories, mine enterprises and agricultural cooperatives; general education and vocational education, education for the adults and education for children, full-time schools and schools which divide their time equally between work and study or spare-time schools¹⁵.

MAKING EDUCATION RELEVANT TO THE WORLD OF WORK THROUGH THE PART-WORK PART-STUDY SYSTEM

The establishment of work-study schools was a major educational innovation on a national level during the GLF in order to ensure that the students acquired an education which would best meet the needs of the community especially the economic needs of rural communities. The work-study schools (including the part-time schools) were locally financed and operated with students dividing their time between work and study. These part-time schools were usually attached to local industrial units, such as mines and factories, and their main purpose was to raise the cultural level of working adults and to provide technical training that would increase their contribution to production. The work-study schools were typically adjuncts of agricultural units and were geared to the needs of the younger generation. Students' activities ranged from tending vegetable gardens in school yards to working in neighbourhood factories or communes. Students generally worked part-time in neighbouring communes or factories on such projects such as building dams, irrigation canals and hydroelectric stations or in iron and steel production, thereby, putting their economic and scientific knowledge to practical use of the community's

needs. Such experience was to provide the younger generation with a chance to associate closely with the working class community in order to overcome a traditional disdain for manual labour.

The educational policy of the GLF also stipulated the involvement of the community in the establishment and running of the work-study schools. Apart from the fact that in some localities, experienced farmers or workers taught farming and industrial techniques and the efforts of certain communities to contribute spare furniture, rooms, buildings and other physical facilities to schools, there were no reports of local communities becoming involved in school planning and administration and participation in decision-making process¹⁶.

The attempts to integrate school and community learning in the educational policies of the GLF were shortlived because of the patterned inertia within the educational system. The government bureaucrats and administrators schooled in the traditional Chinese education system were opposed to the Communist's community-oriented education. The attitude of cadre members also contravened the spirit of official policy and their ambivalence influenced the way they blindly interpreted and executed directives from the center. These attitudes reinforced practices inherited from the pre-1949 period, for example, reliance on examinations, emphasis on memorisation and the traditional rote-learning. Kwong (1979) made the point that the policy-makers perpetuated conflicts within the educational system by assigning the special role of maintaining academic standards to the regular full-time academic schools, leaving the part-work, part-study schools behind in the scramble for status and resources. In addition, the economic disasters of the late 1958 and 1959 hastened the closure of the work-study schools and abandoning of the educational

policies of the GLF.

REVIVAL OF COMMUNITY-ORIENTED EDUCATION DURING THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION (1966-1969).

The lessons learned during the GLF led the government to attempt more basic reforms in education when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) was proclaimed. The educational revolution of the GPCR covered the system of instruction, the principles and methods of teaching, the conditions of admission and the ideological remoulding of the teaching profession. The new educational system was to be an important social reform, a step towards lessening the difference between town and country, between mental and manual labour.

The part-work and part-study system of combining labour and education was revived and strengthened and made ideal for all schools. Community knowledge and resources were utilised as part of the educational process. Peasants, workers and cadre members entered schools as part-time instructors and taught particularly in work-oriented subjects. Education was no longer confined to the classroom. In towns and country alike, primary and secondary schools established links with factories, peoples' communes and army units in the neighbourhood. The management of many schools was taken away from educational, professional and put in the hands of authorities in local communes, factories and neighbourhood.

The new teaching curriculum encouraged teachers and students' participation in productive work in factory, farm and peoples' commune. Rural communes and production brigades were also running their own schools and these varied in form and fitting in with the local community conditions. Students in rural schools worked side by side with family and neighbours to harvest and plant in their own village. Educational activities were carried alongside community activities. Lectures and

rote learning were deemphasised. School learning activities were extended in the community with the emphasis on group projects, practical work, and exercises pertaining to real life experience. The emphasis on such pedagogy was expected to stimulate student initiative, and creativity¹⁷.

Students and teachers from towns and cities were sent to work by undertaking projects in the countryside so that they could get acquainted with the actual conditions of agricultural production and rural life. Shirk (1978) remarked that learning about real life problems of rural peasants has an important positive feed-back effect on curricula and research. Students and professors who come face-to-face with the serious problems of the countryside began to orient their research and study efforts towards solving these problems. Besides, the experience of doing manual labour and especially working side-by-side with peasants seemed to have a profound effect on attitudes and values. Shirk(1978) noted that work-study education was aimed at inculcating egalitarian attitudes by narrowing the status between manual and mental work and develop respect of collective forms of welfare for the whole community. Furthermore, he added that the communist government has made periodic efforts to narrow wage differentials among managers, engineers and scientists on the one hand and ordinary peasant cultivators and factory workers on the other hand.

Universities also combined studies with work in the community. Liberated arts universities used the community as a learning laboratory. Hong (1975) pointed out that university students carried out surveys in factories, villages and depots; learned about society, attended workers', peasants' and army schools and took part in three main revolutionary drives- the class struggle, the struggle to increase production and scientific research. Universities and polytechnics established contacts with factories,

mines and peoples' communes. Students and teachers worked and learned alongside peasants and workmen. Souen Houa (1975) claimed that in 1974, worker-peasant-soldier graduates from Isinghoua University in collaboration with 100 factories and scientific research units throughout the country, carried out 360 projects as end-of-study practical work and achieved better results than any intake of students of the former pre-cultural revolution university has ever been able to obtain. Altogether 289 of these projects have already been applied in the construction of socialism including a hundred or so which have made an impact in leading production or management sectors or have filled gaps in Chinese science and technology.

Kwong (1979a) also remarked that during the GPCR, the state examination for university entrance was abolished and a system of community recommendation of candidates substituted. Bureaucratic control was subverted by the introduction of a supervisory committee of representatives consisting of educational administrators, students and community members and the exclusive pursuit of esoteric knowledge was disavowed by introducing "redness" for ideological pursuit, as the major criterion for university entrance. Instead of superimposing an overall plan for change from above, students were mobilised, the community was involved and the resistance of administrators minimised.

THE TRAINING OF BAREFOOT DOCTORS FOR COMMUNITY NEEDS

Before the Cultural Revolution, undue stress was put on medical service in cities at the expense of the countryside, and prevention and treatment of common diseases among the rural people and related research work were given minor attention. In 1966, the beginning of the Cultural

Revolution gave a great impetus to rural medical work, and the barefoot doctors caught nationwide attention. Large numbers of urban medical workers and medical-school graduates went to work in the countryside or joined mobile teams touring the villages and hence began to train barefoot doctors in rural communities. The barefoot doctors were peasants from the communes. They were given some basic medical training so that they could make simple diagnosis, treat common diseases and do preventive work while they continue to work on the land. Because they were essentially undifferentiated from other members of the community, people came to them readily for treatment. They often treated patients in their homes or in the fields. Barefoot doctors were trained and educated in medical practice so that they can disseminate their knowledge among the people in their own community and hence contribute to the welfare of the whole community. Women barefoot doctors were given training in midwifery, maternal and child care, the use of contraceptives and methods of family planning in order to help other women in their community¹⁸.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES IN RURAL AREAS

During the GPCR, agricultural colleges in rural areas flourished in order to meet the learning needs of the rural communities especially in matters pertaining to agriculture. The colleges enrolled worker-peasant-soldier students from various countries. According to Tung Yi (1975), the North-West Agricultural College adopted the method of setting up in the countryside an experimental "training centre", in which training was carried out in the course of running three types of farms (the high-yield, the experimental and the seed farms) in cooperation with a local production brigade. According to a teaching plan jointly worked out by the college and brigade, teachers and students learn and do scientific

research in the course of working the farms. The learning experience was extended right in the community whereby students and teachers stepped out of the classroom to integrate themselves with peasants and to gain experience in working out a new system of combining schooling, productive labour and scientific research for rural community development.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF TANZANIAN SOCIETY
EDUCATION DEVELOPMENTS IN TANZANIA PRIOR TO THE ARUSHA DECLARATION 1967

Tanzania formerly known as Tanganyika was both under German and British colonisation. The establishment of schools in Tanganyika originated around the turn of the century during the German rule. The efforts in that direction was mainly in the hands of various missionary societies and served chiefly to establish a basis on which evangelisation could take place (i.e. the propagation of Christian faith). The missionaries viewed themselves as civilisers, as redeemers of the fallen African man; and in believing this, sought to propagate not simply the Gospel but the moral and social values of the civilisation which they represented¹⁹.

The education for Africans was given a boost in the early part of the British rule by the American-Funded Phelps-Stokes Commission report of the education in East and Central Africa, and by the publication of the Colonial Office Memorandum on the educational policy in British Tropical Africa. Considerable efforts were undertaken to formulate an educational policy, having as its main purpose the adaptation of schooling to the needs of the African communities especially those in rural areas. It advocated a curriculum which was based on a study of the community and on the promotion of agriculture in school. However, the implementation of a community-oriented education did not have the desired effect. The British had intended to train Africans for the Civil Service according to the policy

Indirect Rule. This meant the selection of an elite group. The aim of educating a vast majority of children from whom to select this elite was interpreted by the African parents in a different manner. They thought that all those going to primary school would eventually be able to obtain a white-collar job²⁰. Primary school education was seen as an avenue to a white-collar job and a steady income in the modern sector.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND THE "NEW" DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY AFTER THE ARUSHA DECLARATION

A little over one month after the Arusha Declaration was published in which the political principles for socialism were discussed for the future development of Tanzania, President Nyerere issued his policy statements "Education For Self-Reliance" concerning the future of education in the country. In it, he outlined the basic strategy which ought to be applied concomitantly with the development moves foreshadowed by the Arusha Declaration. That is, education was viewed as complementary to the development strategy referred to by Nyerere by stressing the desire to create a strong economy based on increased agricultural production. Nyerere (1968) stressed that the improvement of the rural areas will be realised fully by utilising the land and available labour and that people will need to work hard, intelligently and cooperatively. Nyerere (1967) pointed out that rural development will have to be pursued on a communal basis, primarily through the establishment of "Ujamaa" villages (i.e. multi-purpose cooperatives with communal ownership and productivity) accompanied by the cooperative effort of all the members of the community. In order to concentrate on development efforts in the rural sector of the economy and achieve the goals of socialism based on the notion of egalitarianism and collective efforts, it was important for Tanzania to undergo significant changes not only in the educational

system but in other aspects of the social structure (i.e. the economic system, the reward system, the decision-making institutions, etc.).

Among its various recommendations, "Education For Self-Reliance" (EFSR) paid considerable attention on how education should be made more relevant to the needs of the community especially in rural sector of the economy. Nyerere (1968) stressed that the social aim of education was to develop positive attitudes towards collective life and that education had to foster the social goals of living together, and working together for the common good and inculcate a sense of commitment to the whole community on the basis of self-reliance. Furthermore, he noted that education must prepare the young people to make useful contributions to agriculture in the village, to be good farmers and to apply their knowledge intelligently and contribute to the welfare of the whole community.

EFSR also postulated that the school ought to be integrated into the community in the strictest sense:-

"Schools must, in fact, become communities - and communities which practise the precept of self reliance. The teachers, workers and pupils together must be the members of a social unit in the same way as parents, relatives and children are the family social unit. There must be the same kind of relationship between pupils and teachers within the school community as there is between children and parents in the village. And the former community must realise, just as the latter do, that their life and well-being depend upon the production of wealth--by farming and other activities. This means that all schools, but especially secondary schools and other forms of higher education, must contribute to their own upkeep; they must be economic communities. Each school should have, as an integral part of it, a farm or workshop which provides the food eaten by the community, and makes some contribution to the national outcome. This is not a suggestion that a school farm or workshop should be attached to every school for training purposes. It is a suggestion that every school should also be a farm; Obviously if there is a school farm, the pupils working on it should be learning the techniques and tasks of farming. But the farm would be an integral part of the school--and the welfare of the pupils would depend on its output, just as the welfare of a farmer depends on the output of his land²¹".

Nyerere (1968) offered a few suggestions as to how the school could become integrated in the community in a practical sense. For instance, he noted that in primary schools, children must be socialised to take responsibility in the community by participating in work on the farms either for the family unit or the village collective (i.e. the community). If the primary school children work on a village communal farm - perhaps having special responsibility for a given number of acres, they could learn new techniques and take pride in a school community achievement. If there was no communal farm, then the school could start a small one of their own by appealing to the older members of the community to help in the bush-clearing in return for a school contribution in labour to some existing community project. This applied equally to secondary schools pupils. Nyerere suggested that students could be assessed not by examinations but by the evaluation of the work done for the school and the community.

Moreover, the purpose of integrating economic activities with schooling was to inculcate a sense of the dignity of labour. For many years in Tanzania, education has had the effect of separating the educated from the labouring community from which they came. This has been the result of the educated person spending so much of his or her time apart from the community. By confronting the fact that most of the students who came from the villages would stay there, or return there after their basic education, EFSR sought out to overcome this contradiction by a thorough reassessment of the nature and usefulness of labour in schools. It was hoped that learning combined with labour produced a collective learning strategy that was both productive for the whole community and even innovative in what it proposed for both agriculture and education.

The economic activity of the school should as far as possible, contributed to the community's well-being. Selling cash-crops for profit may be a source of revenue with which to finance a school project to purchase equipments, to make cash contribution to a community project, or even to expand the productive capacity of the economic activity itself. Through these means, the school should contribute to its own self-reliance whilst, at the same time, displaying by example, the benefits of self-reliance to the pupils and the community at large.

What follows in this chapter is a few examples of community education principles as stated in the policy of "Education For Self-Reliance".

THE LITOWA EXPERIMENT AND THE IDEA OF COMMUNITY SCHOOL

An experiment with EFSR in Litowa epitomised the idea of community education in Tanzania in the 1960s. Toroka (1969) made the point that since the Litowan school was founded, it belonged to the community and has been part of the community. When these communities began, they were setting out a new way of life both in economics and thought. They were building a tradition which was to be handed on from one generation to another. If they were to send their children to the ordinary schools in the country, they would be divorcing them from the life in the communities and the tradition they were building²². The main educational goal of the school in Litowa was therefore to prepare students to work, live and contribute to the welfare of their own communities.

Toroka (1969) added that the school was thus fully integrated with the community. The children lived and went to school within the community and regularly worked on the communal lands. The parents also came to help with the school work. Children with the help of their parents built roads and bridges, repaired and built houses. An example such work was the school block which the parents and the children had worked on hand

in hand from the beginning to end. The children helped to clean the village surroundings, to put fertilizer on the communal crops, to plant and harvest the tobacco, they assisted the cooks in the kitchen, ground maize for the school and the community, took the village cattle to pasture. Parents as a voluntary duty, came to cook food for the school children and so on. In fact, the children were part of the community, and they were growing up to serve it in future as full members. Their spirit, there was no doubt, was a communal one and their parents had great hopes in them and respect for them.

Among the projects which children and parents undertook as part of their learning experience in the Litowan experiment, was farm work undertaken in the school shamba (i.e. growing beans, ground nuts and soya beans, fruit trees, etc.). The school also began to train students in nursery nursing and basic medical knowledge in order to compensate the lack of practitioners and expertise in the communities. As part of their training, Toroka (1969) remarked that girls undertook work with the pre-school children in the villages and their training included cooking and feeding the young children, washing and cleaning them and taking them for walks and to play, etc. The school had the responsibility to train students so that they can be future efficient operators of the world of work. Additional projects planned for Litowan community school included poultry breeding, keeping rabbits, building fish ponds and keeping pigs. All these projects were intended to produce for surplus, the commodities were to be sold locally or consumed by the school children. Litowa's school work thus extended into the real life experience of the community. The school took the leadership role in rural community development approach based on the notion of self-help and cooperative endeavours.

KWAMSISI COMMUNITY EDUCATION PROJECT

The Kwamsisi Community Education project provides a very interesting example of Ujamaa village education. The project was built around centers of interests and needs which formed an integral part of the life of the village community. Its origin could be traced back in 1969, when an agreement was made between the government of Tanzania on one, hand, and UNICEF and UNESCO on the other hand, concerning the operation of the Primary Education Reform Project in Tanzania was launched in 1969. The Primary Education Reform Project followed the conference on "Education For Self-Reliance" whereby 150 education officers attending the conference resolved that:-

- a) all the teachers be given an orientation on the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance.
- b) the gap between schools and local communities be bridged by schools participating in community activities and involving communities in some school functions.
- c) the school curricula be revised such that:
 - 1) practical projects are included.
 - 2) political education becomes one of the subjects.
 - 3) the examination system include the assessment the students' character and contribution to community work.
- d) teachers be given refresher courses in the new curricula.

The Kwamsisi Project was undertaken in order to carry the above revisions in educational practice especially in the establishment of school-community links and the integration of school and community learning.

Kilimhana (1975) who made an evaluation study of the Kwamsisi Project reported that the curriculum content of the Kwamsisi schools included community studies which included such topics such as modern farming tech-

niques, commerce, health education, and science related to local problems. The study revealed that the contents of the curriculum areas were locally oriented, that is, they were about local phenomenon. The importance of stressing the local environment or linking new ideas with the local situation lied in the fact that the locality provides a base upon which children could conceptualise about things or phenomena that were more distant and it facilitated the development of awareness about one's social and physical environment²³. Teachers also centered the topics of the curriculum on their relevance to the community life. For example, Kilimhana found out that in a science class, the problems of mosquitoes were directly related to the hazards they caused in the community and that students were taken in the community in order to locate the problem and instructed how they could prevent mosquito breeding in the community.

As far as school-community links were concerned, the study discovered that community members were participating and making valuable contribution in the curriculum planning process and instructional programmes of the school. Parents were involved in the development of the curriculum. People from the villages especially those with skills in local crafts, music and dancing were involved in the teaching of the Kwamsisi pupils. Community members also cooperated in the various projects undertaken in conjunction with the Kwamsisi school. Kilimhana noted that the villagers, pupils and teachers built a chicken house and workshop for carpentry and tinsmithery classes. In 1972/73, 1973/74 school years, the villagers provided the school with a tractor (loaned to the village by the government office) for the cultivation of the school shamba, gave the school some fertilizer and pesticide for the maize and cotton plants

and provided labour for weeding and harvesting. Teachers were also involved in community activities and were represented in various village committees and participated in decision-making in matters pertaining to the village and the school.

ADULT EDUCATION

The designation of Adult Education Year in 1970 marked the beginning of a new phase in the development of Tanzanian education in the socialist transformation of the country. The learning needs of all community members who have passed the school age were taken into account so that they could contribute to the future development of Tanzania. The directorate of Adult Education with the Ministry of National Education outlined the role of Adult Education in the context of development as follows:-

- 1) to mobilize the rural and urban masses into a better understanding of our national policies of socialism and self-reliance.
- 2) to provide leadership training in various aspects of life at all levels;
- 3) to eradicate illiteracy;
- 4) to give knowledge and skills in agriculture and rural construction, health and home economics that will raise people's productivity;
- 5) to provide follow-up education for primary and secondary school leavers with the view of setting them in Ujamaa villages;
- 6) to provide continuing education to professional at various stages in the form of seminars, evening classes, in-service training programs, correspondence courses and vocational training²⁴.

The institutional heart of adult education network was the community school which combined the primary school and the adult education centre. In 1969 when the plans for the reorganisation of adult education in the country were being drawn up, it was decided that the primary school was the most widely dispersed institution in rural areas and could most efficiently and economically be expanded to include the function of teaching

adults. Primary school teachers who were now involved in teaching adults have been given a reduction of two hours a week from their tasks of teaching the children. Additional teachers were drawn from the skills of others in the area. For example, the local agriculture officer was drawn upon to teach agricultural skills, the local TANU official to teach aspects of national policy, simple, an interested man or woman to teach aspects of local dance, drama and song²⁵. Among the subjects taught in the school were: better farming methods, health education, domestic science, typewriting, craftsmanship, languages such as English and Kiswahili, economics, etc.

In order to carry out the large tasks assigned to adult education, a network of supervisory and coordinating personnel has been established. This network of adult education centers and organisers have made it possible for several types of adult education programmes to operate. Among such programmes are:

- a) A National Literacy Campaign which uses primers oriented to twelve economically functional activities such as wheat, cotton and tobacco growing, fishing and homecrafts. One primer deals more generally with national policies. In order to ensure that the agricultural knowledge has some chance of being integrated into the teaching, each class has a piece of land allocated to it for agricultural demonstration and practice.
- b) Short-Term Mass Education Campaign. In 1973, for example, a nationwide health education campaign was launched. The "Man's health" campaign used mass media as a means of health education. The campaign had three objectives: 1) to increase participants' awareness of measures which groups and individuals can take to make their lives healthier; 2) to inform participants about the symptoms and prevention of specific disease; 3) to encourage those who had participated in the national literacy campaign to maintain their newly acquired reading skills by providing them suitable followup material.
- c) Ujamaa village education.

CONCLUSION

China and Tanzania provide a clear example of a somewhat different

approach to community education which facilitated the integration of school and community learning. This has been made possible by these countries' efforts to undergo radical structural changes in the economic, political, social, ideological and educational systems. Both countries embarked on the path of socialism based on egalitarianism principles--equality in the reward system, educational system, and the development of the "collective ideal". Education in both countries played a significant role in fostering the idea of collectivism. The setting up of the commune system, production brigade, ujamaa villages was among the reorganisation to develop the practice of learning, working and living together as well as the ethnics of interdependence, cooperation and concern for the welfare of the whole community. both countries attempted to include nonformal alongside formal education although China was more successful on this line because of its strong ideological commitment to the class struggle and to the efforts to "proletarianise" the whole population.

The educational strategy adopted by China and Tanzania took a local or community emphasis in funding, organisation and control and education was directed more to community needs than of fulfilling "manpower" requirements. However, Carthew (1978) pointed out that there were some differences in the manner in which localisation occurred in each case. For instance, in China localisation extended in the selection of teachers from the community, brigade and party organs - this was a product of the GPCR and was partly aimed at "deprofessionalisation" and the "demystification" of the teaching profession. In Tanzania, teachers were still by and large trained at the National Colleges of Education and professionally trained teachers were still distinct from other personnel working in the school.

The integration of education and productive labour was

implemented in both countries to benefit the school as well as the community despite the fact that this idea met with opposition from teachers, policy-makers and parents at the beginning. For instance, rural children and youths were studying and at the same time participating in agricultural activities. Besides, the work-study principle was a way to pass on valuable occupational skills that were applicable in the community. In China as well as in Tanzania, the work-study principle was carried out on economic and pragmatic reasons. It was a feasible approach to expand educational opportunities. The income earned by the manual labour of students and teachers contributed in the running of the school. Since the schools were seen as an integral part in the life of the community, the local people from the community also participated in the organisation and instructional programmes of the school on a voluntary basis. The work-study education was aimed to inculcate egalitarian attitudes by narrowing the status gap between manual and mental work and it was the duty of the schools to inculcate those attitudes so that students do not despise work in the rural sector and leave their community. The community approach to education was also based on the principle of community self-reliance whereby members of the village community cooperate and pool on their resources to become self-sufficient.

However, the work-study was done on a much wider basis in China than in Tanzania. In China, education was more community-based than school-based. Factories and agricultural communes run their own schools with workers and peasants fulfilling the role of teachers. Teachers, university professors and students from the towns were sent to work in fields, factories and communes as part of their teaching and learning experience. The work-study education in China infiltrated the educational hierarchy to university level. Whereas in Tanzania, the work-study

programmes were mostly restricted to primary schools.

The attempts made by China and Tanzania to restructure the education system to meet the needs of the community have had a relatively fair degree of success in comparison with other LDCs because of the latter's non-committment to structural changes. During the past fourteen years, the educational system of Tanzania has undergone extensive reforms and supported a number of innovations, including an elaborate network of adult education and community approach to education. However, one important constraint that remains to be solved is the continuing higher social and economic value placed on the more academic type of education which leads to jobs outside farming and into the modern and relatively better paid sectors of the economy²⁶.

Since the death of Mao Zedong and the arrest of the Gang of Four, a new leadership has emerged in China. Deng Xiaoping and Hua Guofeng have changed the development strategy of the country with the adoption of their policy of modernisation known as the "Four modernisations" (of agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology). The idea behind the modernisation of China is to make the country competent with the technologically advanced nations. The community-oriented education of the Communist's regime has been superseded by a selective, elitist education based on book-knowledge of science and technology.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The thesis focussed on the different conceptions of and programmes in community education in different socio-political contexts in the present century. Many examples were given to illustrate the ways school and community learning were made possible. From these examples, one can discuss the potential of community education as an education movement by highlighting its limits and possibilities.

Community education shows great potential in the area of community development. Community development is here interpreted as a process intended to create conditions of social, economic and psychological progress of the whole community and education is an integral part of the development process. The role of community educator or community development officer is to act as facilitator in this process helping to arouse people's awareness of certain environment and social problems, to disseminate information and to develop the community's skills and competence for group action, community problem-solving and improvement in the community's standards of living. Community development can only be effective when it is undertaken by the community itself through the local people's initiative and with the community members themselves as active participants in something they collectively believe for their common good and welfare and for which they can mobilise their own resources.

The thesis has indicated that community education was used as an instrument for community development. For instance, one of the main purposes of community education in the Southern States of the United States and British Colonial Africa at the beginning of this century was an education geared to improve the standards of living in the community.

As it has already been mentioned earlier in the thesis, the emancipated slaves in the South were faced in a situation whereby they were illiterate, lacked the appropriate skills to improve their standards of life and to become self-reliant. Similarly, the majority of Blacks in British Colonial Africa were living in backward rural communities with poor hygiene, sanitation conditions, improper diet and relatively poor economic conditions owing to primitive skills in agricultural techniques. The Black "Industrial Education Movement" in the South of the U.S.A. as well the community-oriented education in British Colonial Africa were partly geared to teach proper hygiene and health practices, diversified agricultural and farming techniques, handicrafts, some degree of home economics and child care. Similarly, the community-oriented education on nonformal education programmes of the 1970s in India and Africa showed possibilities for rural development on a local basis. Nonformal education programmes were implemented in Africa and India with the hope to educate rural communities to improve life and increase agricultural productivity. However, from these examples, one can argue that community development was undertaken in a "paternalistic" fashion. Community education was superimposed on the local people through educational policies formulated "from above".

The conceptualisation of community education as an education aiming to develop various occupational skills relevant to the community's needs was developed by Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes. The Black Southerners were educated and trained to practise various occupations in their own communities such as farming, dairying, agriculture, construction work, electrical work, dressmaking, tailoring, printing, etc. Similarly, Gandhi's "Basic Education" was directed to teach students skills in craft work and small trade occupations. Nonformal education programmes

in Africa were directed to give the rural unemployed youth useful occupational skills. For example, the Brigade Training in Botswana directed instructions in construction work, farming, agriculture, textile production, and some trade activities that were needed in the community. The implementation of community education along this line is beneficial to the community in the sense that it allows people to become productive members of the community, practise good agricultural techniques, farming and small trade activities, disseminate their knowledge and skills among other members of the community.

The idea of extending the schools' activities for community purposes seems pragmatic and beneficial for school-community interaction. The "Community School Movement" in the United States illustrates how the school can become an integral part in the life of the community. For instance, various community activities can take place in the school plant without the deployment of extra facilities and resources. The community can use the schools' facilities for social, recreational and cultural purposes. The community school's educational activities also take into account the learning needs of all the members of the community. Community education provides a "second-chance" education for those who have missed or have been deprived of an education. The modern "Community Education Movement" in the U.S.A. also shows the potential for greater community input in the school system through community's participation in the decision-making process. The community advisory council can be used as a powerful organisation for local control of education.

However, a thorough analysis of the examples of community education discussed in the thesis at a micro level of society reveals some important sociological implications. The implementation of community education in different socio-political contexts (except perhaps with the examples

of China and Tanzania) indicates that "community education" has been implemented as a "second rate" education to a marginal group of people (underdogs of society) in both "developed" and "developing" countries. For example, community education as opposed to an academic oriented education was prescribed for the Black Southerners in the U.S.A after the abolition of slavery, the Black African mass in British Colonial Africa, the rural poor in Africa and India in post-colonial era as well as the socially deprived group in urban America.

Community education operated within a dualistic system of education in these different socio-political contexts. People from different socio-economic backgrounds aspired for an academic education which gave them access to the most prestigious jobs and better chances to achieve upward social mobility. There seems to be some marked disparities in the reward structure, opportunities outlets in these two different systems of education. Community education with its emphasis on technical, industrial, vocational, agricultural training, stations people in lower level occupations. It was therefore not a surprise that community education met with strong opposition in Africa and India because parents and students realised that an academic education was the only avenue to better paid jobs and social status.

Moreover, community education was prescribed for a marginal group of people in the hope that it will enhance people's awareness, skills and knowledge to solve community problems relating to food production, family planning, health problems, unemployment, anomie, poverty, etc. However, community education programmes aiming at community problem solving offer piecemeal solutions to social problems which have deeper structural implications. For example, the problems of poverty cannot be solved by changes in the educational system alone. Changes have

to be made in the economic, political systems in order to redress the problems of income inequalities, maldistribution of power, wealth, etc. Community education tends to adopt a "blame the victim" approach to social problems. Those who subscribe to this kind of approach tend to think that if the community's attitudes, skills and knowledge are improved, there is the greater likelihood that poverty, unemployment, crime, racism would be alleviated. Community education as community problem-solving tends to emphasise community self-help or community "pulling itself by its own bootstraps"; and envisioned in this fashion, tends to localise social problems by making the community accountable for local problems and responsible to tackle them through small scale solutions at the local level. However, community education posing as an expedient to grapple with social problems in both developed and developing countries, offers only "bandaid" solutions to deep-rooted social problems as Martin Lipset Seymour puts it "tidying up the ragged edges of the good society"¹.

In the light of the discussion provided in the thesis, one can argue that community education has been used as an instrument of social control in U.S.A., Africa, India. For example, the Black "Industrial Education Movement" was an instrument used by the White race in order to control the social, political and economic aspirations of the Black race within the social structure of the post-slavery period. Similarly, the British Colonial Authority prescribed community education for the African mass in order to temper their aspirations for a Western "academic" education which was only given to a selected minority who could be trained to work with the colonial administration. Community education was destined for the majority of Africans in order to tie them to the traditional sector of the economy and prevent the drift into towns which was upsetting

the stability of the rural traditional communities. The colonial power was also interested in developing cash-crop agriculture in cocoa plantation, cotton, groundnuts, rubber, palm oil, coffee and so on for their own interests. The provision of an "academic" education for the majority was threatening to the British in fear of the development of the masses' political awareness to threaten the colonial power. Similarly, community education as an instrument for community development has been emphasised in urban America and rural areas in less developing countries in order to soften the tensions and conflicts of a society afflicted by a multitude of social problems inherent in capitalist social structure. Community development operates as a consensus based approach to community problem-solving. It does not allow the development of the community's political awareness or consciousness raising to challenge existing social structures and bring about radical changes.

Community education had limited contributions in U.S.A., Africa and India because of the social and political structure of these countries. Community education is capable to make certain contributions to the development of particular communities if it is accompanied by structural changes not only in the educational system but also in political, economic and reward systems. The thesis has indicated that China and Tanzania had a relatively good degree of success in their approach to community education because of the overall structural changes on a socialist path of development. In China and Tanzania to some extent, community education became an integral part of the mainstream education system and the curriculum and pedagogy of the schools were devised in such a way as to accommodate school and community integrated learning. All students were expected to relate what they learned in the schoolhouse in relation to real life experiences and had to undertake some kind of community work as

part of the learning process. Attempts were also made to reduce income disparities between the traditional and modern sector of the economy as well as between mental and manual labour.

Community education will only achieve some degree of success in U.S.A., Africa and India on the conditions that reforms have to be made within the educational system, reward structure, opportunities structure, class system, etc. Community education has to be integrated or incorporated within the mainstream educational system so that it does not lead to inferior status, limited opportunities and low economic rewards. The need to improve school-community relations, to integrate school-community learning and to provide "relevant" education is valuable within the mainstream educational system. Efforts should be made to breach the gap between an academic oriented and a community oriented education. This could be achieved through organisational, administrative, curriculum, pedagogical, decision-making process, attitudinal changes among educators, policy-makers, community members, teachers and students.

Some of the suggested changes within the educational system are as follows:-

1. All schools should become or considered as community schools. The public schools should play a vital role in the life of the community. The school plant should be made more accessible for the educational, recreational, cultural, religious, and social activities for all the members of the community.
2. Work-study programmes should be made compulsory at a senior and higher level of education in order to make education more "relevant" to the occupational needs of the community. Students should be given a chance to experience some voluntary or paid activities related to career choices such as service in hospitals, government offices, factories, apprenticeship work, etc. for work experience and school credit.
3. The schools should also include more life experiences situation in the

learning process of the students. For instance, more community visits, field trips, visits with artisans, industrial tours, more recreational visits, outdoor educational activities and cultural excursions should be undertaken.

4. School authorities should grant the permission to employ community resource persons for specific teaching tasks in the schools. For example, a community nurse can be employed in the school in order to teach about good health, hygiene and sex education.
 5. Learning in the school should become a lifelong process instead of a terminal activity at a certain age. Older members of the community should be given a chance to fulfill their learning needs in formal, informal and nonformal ways.
 6. Members of the community should be motivated to participate in the decision-making process of the school at the local level and be given the power to bring about changes at policy level.
- 7

FOOTNOTES

1. LIPSET, M.S. Quoted in Ashcroft's article "The School As A Base For Community Development". OECD REPORT. School And Community. Paris: Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, 1975.
2. "A Choice of Futures: A Future of Choices". A report of the Commission on Educational Planning. Commissioner, Walter H. Worth. Alberta, Edmonton: Queen's Printer, 1972, p.179.

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